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THE
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Vol. 38 Spring Number, 1949 No. 1

APOLOGY FOR QUAKER HISTORY—AN EDITORIAL

By Frederick B. Tolles

WITH the present number a new incumbent assumes the Editorial chair. Looking back over the roster of former Editors—a list which includes the names of Allen C. Thomas, Rayner W. Kelsey, Thomas K. Brown, Jr., and Thomas E. Drake—he is conscious of the high standards of editorial responsibility and imagination which have been set for him. He wishes particularly to express his admiration of the level of scholarship and readability which the Bulletin reached under the Editorship of his immediate predecessor, Thomas E. Drake.

The besetting temptation of editors is to editorialize. The new Editor does not propose to give way often to this temptation. From time to time, however, as observations occur to him on the present status or the pressing needs of Quaker historical writing, he may take advantage of the opportunity which is his and commit them to print. A few such observations are offered herewith as a sort of inaugural discourse.

I

A distinguished American historian has recorded his amusement at recalling the disapproval of some of his colleagues when he proposed to devote himself to what they regarded as a "narrow" subject—the history of Harvard College. Actually,

he writes, this "narrow" subject proved to be "the most difficult, but at the same time the most stimulating and broadening task" he had ever undertaken.[1]

The Society of Friends, past and present, with all its branches and twigs, forms but a tiny part of the Universal Church. At the present moment Friends represent a little less than .08 of one percent of the population of the United States, .027 of one percent of the total number of people who call themselves Christians in the world, and .007 of one percent of the globe's population. What excuse is there for occupying oneself with the history of so infinitesimal a body? In an age of mass movements and global thinking, an age in which historians are dealing with whole "civilizations" and "cultures," is it not a piece of irrelevant antiquarianism to devote oneself to the study of Quaker history?

There is, of course, a familiar answer to these questions. It is a good answer and in some respects it is a sufficient answer. It runs thus: as Friends, called to perpetuate and enrich a precious tradition, we need to know and understand what that tradition is; in other words, we must be aware of "the pit whence we were digged." Accepting this without argument as a valid proposition, I want to go on to suggest some further reasons for working in the "narrow" field of Quaker history—reasons which should and do appeal (witness our periodic notes on research in progress) to non-Friends as well as to Friends.

II

The early Quakers, as has often been pointed out, did not regard their experiment as a new form of religion: it was nothing more or less than "primitive Christianity revived." History to them was a long and, for the most part, a gloomy corridor into the past, lighted up at the far end by the Pentecostal glory that surrounded the primitive Christian community. The coming of the "children of the Light" in the middle of the seventeenth century represented a rekindling of that primitive glory after the "dark night of apostasy" fifteen centuries long. A naïve view

[1] Samuel E. Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), v.

of history, no doubt, and one which admittedly does scant justice to brilliant periods like the thirteenth century or the Renaissance. But in a sense the early Friends were right. The Christian Church had long departed from the simplicity of that blessed community of the first century with its directness of religious experience and its radical ethic of love drawn from the Sermon on the Mount.

It was the mission of George Fox and his co-workers to bring back into the life of Christianity that simplicity, that directness of experience, that radical ethic of love. "If loving one another and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God, and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity," wrote William Penn of the early Quakers, "they had it, blessed be the Lord, in an ample manner." [2] And for three centuries the Society of Friends has kept alive that vision of a life lived in the constant presence of God and dominated by active love for all men. The vision has been sadly dimmed at times; lapses from the ideal have been more frequent perhaps than instances of complete fidelity to it. But the vision *has* been kept alive and the careers of the best representatives of each Quaker generation from George Fox and James Nayler to Rufus Jones and some saints now amongst us have been living testimonies to the fact that the vision can be translated into reality in the lives of men.

This New-Testament quality of life, this radical Christianity, free from creedal subtleties and ecclesiastical forms, is what has attracted seekers to Quakerism in every generation. Eighty years ago, Ralph Waldo Emerson, a "friend of the Friends," declared: "the sect of Quakers in their best representatives appear to me to have come nearer to the sublime history and genius of Christ than any other of the sects. They have kept the traditions perhaps for a longer time, kept the early purity . . . and . . . I think I find in the language of that sect, in all its history . . . a certain fidelity to the Christian character." [3] And just the other

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[2] *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers* (London, 1694), 40.

[3] "Natural Religion," *Uncollected Lectures,* ed. Clarence Gohdes (New York, 1932), 57.

day, the *Christian Century* quoted from a Friends paper an editorial expressing the Quaker attitude towards a controversial figure in the day's news, and called it "an utterance impregnated with the spirit of the New Testament." Although to outward appearances the Society of Friends may seem to be merely a sect among sects, there is a real sense in which it may be said to have stood over three centuries for the central core of Christianity "before sects were," as George Fox put it.[4] If this is really the case, then the study of Quaker history takes on a significance hardly less than universal, for it gives us intimations of the ways in which the early Christians, who stood close to the founder of the Christian religion, might have confronted the manifold problems of the modern world.

The reconciliation and implementation of freedom and equality is perhaps the most urgent political problem before the world today. John Bright, whose achievements in the political realm give his words some authority, once said that "of all the religious sects which have ever appeared in the world—certainly since the first corruption of the Christian Church—[the Society of Friends] is that which . . . has taught the equality and the equal rights of man."[5] If Quaker history can provide us with detailed information on the means by which that testimony for equal rights has been put into practice, is it not a subject of profound importance to the modern world? Similarly the relationship of Friends to the national state, including the ways in which they have met the problems of war and conscription, should be of universal interest in our time when nationalism leads to war and war heightens nationalism. Who can miss the significance of the memorable chapters in Quaker history involving relations with minority groups — Indians, Negroes, Japanese-Americans, or Jews? The story of the working out in practice of Quaker ideas concerning the equality of the sexes, family relationships, education, and the economic order—all this has a significance far transcending its importance in the chronicles of a minor sect *if* it is desirable for us to gain some

[4] *Journal*, Bi-Centenary Edition (London, 1891), I, 476.

[5] J. Travis Mills, *John Bright and the Quakers* (London, 1935), II, 194.

inkling of the way in which the primitive Christians might have dealt with the problems posed by the modern world. Approached in this spirit, Quaker history can hardly be considered "narrow."

But is this a proper spirit in which to approach Quaker history? Do these suggestions smack of complacency, of un-Quakerly or unwarranted pride? I hope not. It should go without saying that Friends as a body and as individuals have often fallen short of the high calling of representing the simplicity of the original Christian community in the modern world.[6] I am not calling for uncritical eulogies. Dr. Johnson once confessed that he liked the "encomiastic parts" of history best, but I think we have had a sufficiency of panegyrics from the pens of starry-eyed admirers. We need critical history that will weigh and measure all our shortcomings and mistakes — and there have been bushels of them. To weigh and measure, incidentally, is the proper function of a bushel, but we are nowhere commanded to use this utensil for the concealment of light! Modern man has need of every gleam of light that gives any promise of leading him out of the dark wilderness in which he finds himself.

III

An equally good case can be made out on another level for the proposition that the study of Quaker history may be a broadening rather than a narrowing discipline. Time was when history was conceived as "past politics." The serious historian in the nineteenth century concerned himself primarily with the evolution of political institutions with perhaps some incidental attention to diplomatic and military events. A few specialists devoted themselves to the study of economic and ecclesiastical institutions. The raw materials of social and intellectual history were largely overlooked or left to antiquarians, local historians, and genealogists, who set them within an extremely narrow frame of reference. Then around the turn of the century came

[6] In some respects the Mennonites in their history of more than four centuries have kept alive the ideal of first-century Christianity more fully than Friends. See in this connection Harold S. Bender's striking essay "The Anabaptist Vision," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XVIII (1944), 3-24.

the "New History" and with it a vast widening of the boundaries of historical study. Attention began to be paid to the data of economic history, social history, intellectual history, and cultural history. By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century the province of the historian had expanded till it embraced "past everything."

We have realized that the garment of Clio, muse of history, is seamless. Every manifestation of the spirit of man is seen to be properly a concern of the historian, and since they are all manifestations of the human spirit, they are all inextricably interrelated. It is as impossible to comprehend, say, the religious history of an era without knowing something of its economic, intellectual, social, and political history as it would be to understand the theories of modern astronomy without some grasp of physics and chemistry.

The weakness of Quaker history in the past (with some notable exceptions) has been its too-exclusive preoccupation with what has happened within the borders of the Society of Friends. Too much of our historical writing, like that of most other religious groups, has been narrowly sectarian, not to say parochial. We have written as if the Society had led a wholly autonomous existence, as if its members had somehow been immune from the historical forces that have affected the lives of other men. It is interesting and important (as I suggested above) to emphasize the peculiar and the distinctive in Quaker history. But the historian who will really interpret us to ourselves (and to the rest of the world) must be aware of more than the history of the Society of Friends.

The story of Quakerism must be studied in its full context if it is to yield up its full meaning. Elbert Russell has wisely observed that "remote as Quakerism may have seemed at times from the world about it, it has always been a part of Christian history, influenced and conditioned by the life, faith, and actions of the contemporary religious world." As a striking evidence of the interrelationship of the Society of Friends and the world he cites Amelia M. Gummere's demonstration "that in spite of Friends' desire to avoid following the vain and changing fashions of the world, most of the Quaker styles originated in

Paris." [7] But as this last illustration shows, the story of Quakerism is part of an historical panorama far wider than church history alone: it is an integral part of the totality which we may call the story of modern Western European culture.

To treat Quaker history in these terms may seem to present a formidable prospect to the ordinary reader of this BULLETIN, who "just wants to know something about the history of Friends." I am not suggesting that we need the erudition of a Toynbee before we can interpret and enjoy Quaker history. I would simply suggest that wherever we dip into this "narrow" subject, we shall, if our eyes are open, find windows opening out on ever-broadening vistas of history. If we follow these beckoning prospects, we shall immeasurably enrich our understanding of the past in general, and when we turn back to the Society of Friends, we shall find that its history has been illuminated for us.

Let me cite some examples. If we would understand George Fox, we must see him as part of English life at one of the most creative moments in modern history. We must see him (as W. Schenk has done in his *Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution*) in relation to the currents of radical social and political thinking associated with the names of John Lilburne, William Walwyn, and Gerrard Winstanley. We must see him (as Geoffrey Nuttall has done in his *Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*) against the background of contemporary movements of religious thought within Puritanism. We must appreciate his relationship to Oliver Cromwell and Charles II, to the complex politico-religious situation in Commonwealth and Restoration England, to the rise of the businessman and the middle-class philosophy of liberalism. We may follow him down fascinating byways of medical and scientific lore, as Henry Cadbury has done in his introduction to *George Fox's Book of Miracles* or as Geoffrey Nuttall did in his recent essay on Fox and the Hermetic Philosophy.[8] The student of literature or the psychology of religion may be led from Fox's *Journal* to the religious autobiographies of his contemporaries—Bunyan and

[7] *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1942), xvi.

[8] "'Unity with the Creation': George Fox and the Hermetic Philosophy," *Friends Quarterly*, I (1947), 134-43.

Baxter and Vavasor Powell—and then back again to Fox with enhanced insight and understanding.

Thus the more intensively one concentrates upon the life of one individual in history, the more one is forced to move outward through ever-widening circles of relevant historical fact and interpretation. This will be true no matter what individual one studies, whether it be William Penn or Robert Barclay, James Logan or Anthony Benezet, Joseph John Gurney or Elias Hicks (see Bliss Forbush's article in this issue of the BULLETIN), Lucretia Mott or John Bright, J. Rendel Harris or Rufus M. Jones. There was nothing "narrow" about these Friends, and one need not fear that the study of their lives and times, if undertaken in the broad spirit of modern historical inquiry, will prove confining.

What is true of the biographical approach to Quaker history will be found to be true of other approaches as well. One may set out to study the history of an individual meeting or of a particular Quaker testimony or of a limited period in the history of the Society, but sooner or later, if one is to do the subject justice, one must relate it to other elements in the total pattern of civilization.

There is no such thing as a "narrow" subject in history. There are only narrow historians or narrow views of history. Approached in the spirit of wide-ranging curiosity characteristic of the modern conception of historical study, the history of Friends can be, like Professor Morison's "narrow" subject, both stimulating and broadening.

ELIAS HICKS — PROPHET OF AN ERA

By Bliss Forbush*

NO MAN can be understood apart from the period in which he lived. To appreciate and understand the life and contribution of Elias Hicks we must have some knowledge of American history between the years of 1748 and 1830. These were stirring and glorious times; in the freshness of a new nation the minds of men had cast off many shackles of the past. Elias Hicks was seventeen when Patrick Henry cried, "If this be treason. . ."; he was twenty-five at the time of the Boston Tea Party; he was twenty-eight when the Revolutionary War began and the Hessian troops occupied Jericho and directed that the Judge Advocate of the regiment should occupy two "½ rooms" in his house.[1] Elias Hicks was forty-one when George Washington became President of the new nation, fifty-five at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, sixty-four at the outbreak of the War of 1812, seventy-five when the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated, eighty at the time of the democratic revolution led by Andrew Jackson, and he died in the year that Daniel Webster made his famous reply to Hayne.

When Elias Hicks was eighteen years of age the American people lived east of the Allegheny Mountains and numbered less than one and a half millions. There were as many Dutch as English in the Province of New York and a third of the population of Pennsylvania was of German nationality. The first newspaper in the colonies was less than a generation old, the first postal system had just begun, and the three-day stagecoach between Philadelphia and New York had only been running for ten years. In his early manhood Hicks saw the abolition of the colonial system of feudal tenure, quitrents, primogeniture

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* Bliss Forbush is Headmaster of Friends School, Baltimore, and Chairman of Friends General Conference. This essay is based upon an address given at the 200th Anniversary of the birth of Elias Hicks, held in the Jericho Meeting House, Long Island, under the care of Jericho Monthly Meeting, Fifth Month 16th, 1948.

[1] From "Return of the Inhabitants of Jericho, Captain Walvenfalls Company, John Hanfsell, Quartermaster." Photostatic copy supplied by Jesse Merritt of Farmingdale, N. Y.

and entail. He experienced the changes which went with the disruption of such great estates as that of the Philipse family which extended over an area three hundred miles square and the Penn family estates which were valued at a million pounds. He lived through a "new deal," led by Jefferson, and a later one led by Jackson. He saw the economy pass from free trade to a protective tariff. The invention of the cotton gin, which was to change the situation regarding slavery and make cotton "king," did not take place until Hicks was forty-five. He began to free his own slaves in 1778.[2]

Elias Hicks lived in a time of great mental stirrings, a threshing time for religiously minded persons. He was ten when Jonathan Edwards, the father of New England revivalism, died. In the same year John Wesley had his "conversion" experience in the Moravian Chapel in London. Nowhere in the world have so many divergent religious ideas been poured into one melting pot as in the American colonies. Each European group that migrated to America brought its religious thought and custom with it. When Elias Hicks was recorded as a minister in 1778 the number of churches in the colonies was divided as follows: Congregational 658, Presbyterian 543, Baptist 498, Anglican 480, Quaker 295, Reformed bodies 251, Lutheran 151, Catholic 50.[3] Within these church brotherhoods there was much cross-fertilization.

New waves of thinking reached the colonies and penetrated the religious denominations to different degrees and at different speeds. The new rationalism of English liberalism combined with the romanticism of the French revolution. Equalitarianism was born of the New England town meeting and the conditions of frontier life. The scales were weighted in favor of religious liberalism, a more exalted idea of the nature of man, and the release of the mind from rigid systems of church control and authoritative interpretation of the Bible.

This fermentation of religious ideas, especially the conflict between the liberalism of the Revolutionary War and the new

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[2] Marietta Hicks of Westbury, N. Y., has compiled a list of 154 slaves freed by members of Westbury Monthly Meeting, 1776-1781.

[3] William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America* (1930), p.251.

evangelical movement led by John Wesley, resulted in the division of many communions, and the establishment of new denominations. The Presbyterian Church divided in 1803 and again in 1810, the Unitarians withdrew from the Congregational Church in 1815, the Disciples were organized in 1826, the Quakers divided in 1827-28, and the Methodists in 1830.

Elias Hicks was born in the period of Quaker Quietism. The Society was then a well-knit body, uniform in its dress, speech, conduct and thought. Quietism was a way of seeking mystical experience, a fellowship with God, and a commitment to the will of God. The Society lived in considerable isolation from the "world's people," and maintained its distinctiveness by means of a rigidly enforced discipline, by the circulation of books and formal epistles, and by the travels of many itinerant ministers. The Society considered itself a saving remnant. Its members had withdrawn from politics in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island before Hicks was of voting age.

The isolation of Quakerism could not keep out current waves of thinking. The Revolutionary War divided Quaker families as well as other colonists (Long Island was occupied during the war by the British and was strongly Tory)[4]; the slavery contest caused strong disagreements. Religious ideas jumped meeting-house walls. English liberalism, French romanticism, deism and skepticism wrestled with the dualism of Barclay, and the Wesleyan evangelicalism. The calm of the Quakers was broken as surely as that of the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Methodists.

Elias Hicks was a Quietist Quaker mystic. In his youth he could write, "The Lord was often near." He set aside a portion of each day for converse with God, to listen and obey. He wrote, "The Lord is a bountiful and rich rewarder of all his faithful servants who serve him, not for reward, but for the sake of that love wherewith he loveth them . . . under the influence of this precious love, they are led and constrained to serve and worship him freely for his own sake . . . his love hath banished every germ of self-love, and all kind of selfishness." On another

[4] Martha B. Flint, *Early Long Island: A Colonial Study* (1896), pp. 339-497.

occasion he wrote, "I can do nothing, all that remains for me is to cast my care wholly on him, in full faith, who hath called me. He that putteth his servants forth will, in his own time, go before them and make way for them . . . and will make darkness light before them . . . and carry over all opposition and discouragement that either man or devils may or can cast in the way." [5]

Elias Hicks was one of the most powerful ministers in America in his day. He was heard far beyond the circle of Friends and spoke to men of all faiths in churches, schools, and courthouses. The governors of four states listened to his message. Sometimes he remained silent, often he spoke two hours at a time, and it is on record that once he spoke for three hours with many people standing!

Walt Whitman's account of Hicks's manner of speech is suggestive of the man. He speaks of "black eyes that blazed at times like meteors"; of an "inner, apparently inexhaustible, fund of volcanic passion"; of "a pleading, tender, nearly agonizing conviction and magnetic stream of natural eloquence."[6] Emanuel Howitt in his "Tour Through the United States," wrote, "His appearance is simple, old fashioned and patriarchal, and he pours forth in his public discourses, in an astonishing and animated flow of plain, but powerful and penetrating language, a train of argument that lightens, and sentiment that warms upon whatever it touches."[7] D. Elton Trueblood has written, "Elias Hicks is the most picturesque and dramatic figure American Quakerism has produced";[8] and Rufus M. Jones speaks of him as "the most striking personality" of his period.[9]

In a letter to William Poole, Hicks wrote, "according to the record of my birth as found in an ancient Bible in my father's possession, I was born the 19th day of 3rd month, 1748." If

[5] From the collection of letters of Elias Hicks in Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[6] Quoted in the *Century Magazine*, Vol. 33, p. 584.

[7] *Selections from Letters Written During a Tour Through the United States* (1820), p. 10.

[8] *Friends Intelligencer*, 3rd month 1, 1930.

[9] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (1921), I, 439.

this date was recorded at the time of his birth it would have been according to Old Style and the month would have been May. "My father was considered a member among friends at the time of my birth. . . My mother was never in strict fellowship with any religious society, but was a woman of strict morality, and generally beloved and respected, by her neighbors and acquaintance of every profession. She died with the consumption when I was about ten years of age. I was born in Queens County, Long Island, on the north side of the great plains, generally known by the name of Hempstead Plains, about three miles west of the meeting-house at Westbury."[10] Elias was one of a family of six brothers and several sisters. As his father married a second time, Elias went to live with his oldest brother and was soon apprenticed to a house carpenter and joiner. When the present meetinghouse was constructed at Jericho in 1787 he contributed his labor to the task. Elias passed through the usual sobering experiences recorded in many Quaker journals of the period. He gave up fishing and hunting for the sober Quaker activities required by a Puritan ethic.

As in the case of most men in the colonies, Elias Hicks was a self-educated man. He loved books and was a wide reader; the books in his personal library can be noted in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College and in the collection of Robert Seaman of Jericho. "He garnered wisdom more than knowledge from books." He was a farmer,[11] mathematician and surveyor. Henry Wilbur says he was a teacher at one time.[12] He was a trustee of the local meeting school, and on the Quarterly and Yearly Meeting committees concerned with education. Like all Quaker ministers he spent long hours with the Bible. His sermons are filled with Biblical quotations, references, and interpretations of various passages.

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[10] Letter of 9th month 12, 1823, *Letters of Elias Hicks* (1861), pp. 138-39. The original of this letter is in the Swarthmore collection.

[11] The farm, but not the Seaman-Hicks house, is in the possession of Daniel Underhill, Clerk of Jericho Monthly Meeting, descendant of Samuel J. Underhill, Clerk of the Preparative Meeting in 1830.

[12] I have not found any evidence for this statement made in Wilbur's *Life and Labors of Elias Hicks* (1910).

In his twenty-second year, Elias married Jemima Seaman before Friends at Westbury. She left no journal but from his letters we know that she inspired his deep affection, was a devoted mother, and an efficient manager of the farm and tannery. They had eleven children, four of whom were boys. These sons were stricken in turn by the same disease and died before reaching manhood. The letters of Elias to Jemima are beautiful, filled with deep feeling, earnest solicitude, and contain the words of an ardent lover. In 1788 he wrote, "Thou art continually in my remembrance, when out of meetings. I cannot but embrace every opportunity to write to thee. . . until it may be consistent with best wisdom to permit us again to meet and enjoy each other. . . and my heart glows at this time with much love and affection for thee." And again: "In the sweet influence of that love that neither distance nor death can obliterate or erase, do I salute thee." After decades of married life he wrote, "Thou hast cause to believe me, my dear, that it was He that first united our hearts together in the bonds of endearing love and affection. So it is He that has kept and preserved us all of our life long, and has caused us to witness an increase of that unfading love which as thou expressed it, is ever new."

There is much in the *Journal* and letters about the farm life at Jericho. Hicks believed in hard labor, conscientious care of property, and discharge of responsibilities, personal and public. His stock was well cared for, his barns filled with good provender. At sixty-six he could say that he "could wield a scythe nearly as good as in the days of my youth." When he traveled in the ministry he delayed the beginning of his journeys until his "mind was at liberty without thought of the farm."

At twenty-six, Elias Hicks became deeply concerned about religious matters. He "had openings," "visions of light," and "experiences of God."[13] He shrank from speaking, then yielded, and finally was launched on his ministry. He was recorded as a minister in 1778 and the next year made his first visit outside the bounds of his own Monthly Meeting. For fifty years he traveled under concern. He covered some forty thousand miles

[13] *The Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks* (1832), pp. 15-16.

by horseback, carriage and boat, from Maine to Virginia, and as far west as Indiana. At eighty he went by carriage on a trip of over two thousand miles, which took seven months. At seventy he attended forty-nine meetings in forty-nine days, and in between these meetings covered 450 miles in his buggy! His trips were unhurried and systematically performed. In one trip to New England it is said that he visited every Quaker family, and in 1798 he attended every meeting in Baltimore Yearly Meeting. It is probable that he attended every meeting at some time in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

During his journeys he met many requests. He spoke to Indian schools, orphanages for colored children, almshouses, in college towns,[14] before district courts, and in churches of many denominations. His journeys were made under pioneer conditions, in sparsely settled country, over bad roads, and often through flooded rivers. His letters hint at exciting happenings. "In passing from one meeting to another," he wrote, "the wind blew with such violence that our carriage seemed several times near blowing over." "A storm on 7th day came with such violence we got to meeting but could not go till second day." "The snow was so deep, roads had drifted full. . . we made the attempt to go on, got a half mile and could proceed no further." In Albany, he stayed with a friend in a cabin where "the snow fell on my face while in bed." On another occasion he wrote, "slept on a wood floor. . . but having the best of company, peace of mind, and a firm trust in the divine blessing, it kept us comfortable and pleasant." Again he wrote, "Travelled forty-five miles today, very bad travel over logs and mudholes, crossing two ferries on the way. . . in the darkest night. . . under necessity of getting off our horses in order to know whether we were on the path or not, could not see one another though we were only four or five feet apart." Sometimes he started out by wagon and needed a sleigh before the journey was ended; once he wrote home for a new pair of breeches because those he started with had worn out. Often he had to leave his carriage to be mended or his horse to be rested. He went for weeks at a time without

[14] Once at Hanover, N. H., the students of Dartmouth College were "very rude and disturbing."

hearing from home because of the uncertainty of the mail, and he complained somewhat that Jemima (who was busy with a houseful of children, the farm and tannery) neglected him because she "wrote as if paper was scarce, on very small pieces." Once he sent her some blank pages as a gentle hint!

In his early years the sermons of Elias Hicks were on practical matters, growing out of the testimonies of Friends. He spoke against horse-racing, Freemasonry, intemperance, war, and slavery. His *Observations on the Slavery of the Africans* was issued before William L. Garrison set up his press. After 1808, Hicks's sermons became increasingly doctrinal. He drew immense crowds and on many occasions the buildings in which he spoke could not hold all those who wished to hear him. He seemed to those who agreed with him to be the champion of liberating forces. It was as if he were lifted by the great wave of new thinking and on its crest carried onward. There was the swirl of bitter contention, and the tragic division, but through it all he was consistent, confident, and serene. He was the champion of freedom against the autocratic authority of the Elders who, as a minority, ruled the Society. He was the champion of freedom from the new dogmatic theology which was being fastened on the Society. He stood for freedom from the growing list of theological "musts" held by many of the itinerant ministers who traveled in this country. He stood for freedom to follow the Light of God within the soul. He held to the best of the past, and desired to add what he considered to be the best of the new, which was in harmony with the best of the past. He desired to reject the new which he felt was not true to original Quakerism, but which represented an importation from Wesleyan evangelicalism.

When he was seventeen he became "convinced by the divine light that its teachings were truth." This had an "ascendancy in my mind over all the reasonings and persuasions of men." He wrote, "the divine light in the secret of the heart . . . is clear and self-evident." "The covenant is *inward*, even the law written upon the heart." "The life of Christ is raised in us." When he was old, ripe in years and wisdom, he still could write that he turned men "from all dependence on any thing without them,

to the inward principle of divine light and truth . . . which . . . leadeth into all truth, and out of all error . . . without whose teaching the true and saving knowledge of God and Christ . . . can never be obtained . . . . coming into the obedience of Christ, we take upon us his divine nature; and are thereby made alive." [15]

Elias Hicks was the prophet of an era. He was a careful husbandman, a loving father and husband, a diligent traveler in the power of truth. He met the needs of common men and stood as well before governors and rulers. He was unafraid of those who misinterpreted or denied the truth he found. He would not yield to the tyranny of men or books. He remained faithful to the truth which was revealed within, and which he endeavored to make more real in his own experience.

[15] From the *Journal*, pp. 10, 11, 12, 315, 330.

CONCORD QUARTERLY MEETING OF MINISTERS AND ELDERS, 1701 - 1801

By Robert J. Leach*

PROVING that rare manuscripts are still turning up, there has recently come to light in the home of a Wilmington Friend, a small leather-bound notebook (4″ x 6¾″) containing in thirty pages of manuscript, the account of the development of Concord (originally Chester) Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. Joshua Sharpless, an elder of Concord Monthly Meeting, penned the data as of Eleventh Month 1818. According to his record the so-called Select Quarterly Meeting was established 117 years earlier, in 1701. It was then, however, limited to ministers only. In 1714 elders were admitted, and the meeting constituted as now known by Arch Street Friends, and so known by Race Street Friends till 1913, when Concord Quarterly Meeting of Ministry and Counsel replaced the traditional Select Meeting for that branch of our Society. Joshua Sharpless was very careful to list every member he knew who was ever recommended as a minister or an elder in his account.

It is interesting to recall that Chester Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends was established by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1683, by setting off from Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, the settlements of Friends in what was then Chester County. These settlements composed Chester Monthly Meeting, then two years old. The next year, the original monthly meeting was divided three ways. Friends west of Ridley Creek became Chichester Monthly Meeting.[1] Friends east of Darby Creek became Darby Monthly Meeting, while Chester comprised those in between.

In William Penn's day it was hoped there would be one Quarterly Meeting per county. In keeping with such a plan, there was in existence in the early years a New Castle Quarterly Meeting in neighboring New Castle County. In 1695 it became

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[1] In 1729 Chichester changed its name to Concord.

evident that its one constituent monthly meeting, then called Newark Monthly Meeting, was not strong enough to develop other monthly meetings. So it was that New Castle Quarterly Meeting was discontinued, and Newark Monthly Meeting joined the fellowship of Chester Quarterly Meeting.

Thus on the 22nd of Ninth Month 1701 (what we might call in a secular way November 22nd), there gathered at Providence Meetinghouse the ministers of the four monthly meetings composing Chester Quarterly Meeting, "with desires for the prosperity of Zion." Providence was chosen for the opening meeting because it was centrally located, and because the year before, a large stone meetinghouse had been erected on old Providence Road. Eighteen ministers were recognized as members of the meeting: ten men Friends and eight women Friends. Of the names mentioned, Maris, Fawcett, Marshall and Carter are still current with us. John Simcock, the first named, passed on to his reward two years later. As a minister of Chester Monthly Meeting (which incidentally was known from its founding till 1711 as Upland Monthly Meeting) "he was a nursing father in Israel." He was one of those who had been impoverished in England by fines, having lost at least the equivalent of four hundred thousand dollars, as he was a very well-to-do man. One other, Margaret Minshall, can be identified as a member of Upland Monthly Meeting, her husband having given the land for Providence Meetinghouse.

From Darby Monthly Meeting came John Blunstone, who gave the ground for Darby Meeting. Also with him was Abraham Marshall, later the founder of Marshalltown, which now lies in Caln Quarterly Meeting. There this convinced Friend, father of the famous botanist, Humphry Marshall, died in 1767 at the advanced age of ninety-seven. Other Darby attenders were John Smith and his wife, Eleanor Smith, who died in 1714 and 1708 respectively. After Eleanor's death, John took an extensive journey to New England where he made a very favorable impression on my ancestors on Nantucket.

Vincent Caldwell is the one Friend easily identified with Newark Monthly Meeting. Not renowned for his school learning, Vincent Caldwell appears to have been a very able minister till

the time of his death in 1720. One suspects John and Jane Maris were also of Newark Meeting, as also it appears Walter Fawcett may have been a Chichester Friend. Jacob Simcock and Lydia Carter should by rights have belonged to Upland Monthly Meeting. Perhaps some of my readers can suggest the origin of John and Hannah Lee, of John Maclean, Elizabeth Fearon, Hannah Kinsman, or Elizabeth Fishburn. As records were incomplete till 1714, there were probably other Friends in the ministry, serving the Select Quarterly Meeting, whose names we do not have at hand.

Chester Quarterly Meeting ministers asked in 1709 to have the elders included. The Yearly Meeting waited five years and then gave a hesitant tentative approval. At the first meeting of ministers and elders on Sixth Month 28th, 1714, it was agreed "that Elders shall have full and free liberty to speak on any matter." At that meeting Chester Monthly Meeting proposed John Salkeld and Jacob Howell as ministers. John Salkeld was the famous eccentric speaker who once called out "Fire, Fire," to the startled congregation, and then added "In Hell, to burn up the drowsy and unconcerned." Five elders were named from Chester, including Caleb Pusey, whose house is so well-known today. Chichester brought forward the names of two elders, as did Darby and Newark. In addition, this last meeting recommended John Hussey for the ministry, he being a brother to the famous Stephen Hussey of Nantucket, and himself later known as an able legislator in the New Jersey colonial legislature. Of the twelve elders named the following names are still in common usage among us: Pusey, Hall, Malin, Jones, Davis, Lewis, Pyle, Wickersham and Lightfoot.

Interestingly no elders were named from Duck Creek Monthly Meeting which was a colony of Newark in middle Delaware, and became a monthly meeting in 1705. This meeting is now known as Camden Monthly Meeting and is a part of Southern Half-Yearly Meeting. There is some reason for believing that John Cowgill who was appointed either as a minister or an elder in 1716 was of Duck Creek Meeting. However, no elders were appointed in this southernmost meeting till 1726. In 1716 two other Friends were named to the Meeting of Ministers and

Elders, though their status is unknown. Francis Swain was probably from Newark. Like John Hussey, his relatives lived on Nantucket. Of John Wright I have no information at this time.

In 1717 seven additional elders were named, making a total of nineteen. Caleb Pusey removed from Chester to Newark, and the names Bailey, Sharpless and Coppock came into the meeting. Two new ministers were recorded in 1717 and six new ministers in 1718. This was the year that New Garden Monthly Meeting was created by setting off the frontier, hitherto part of Newark Monthly Meeting. Probably elders residing in the western area became elders of the new monthly meeting, but of that we have no record. One of the new ministers, John Piggott, was recorded by New Garden. He was, no doubt, an ancestor of Clarence Pickett, as we now euphoniously pronounce the name. Another of this newest group of recorded ministers was Thomas Wickersham, the first elder to become a minister. He was a Newark Friend. The name Evans first appeared in the Select Meeting in 1718.

As there were no local, or preparative meetings of ministers and elders in the five monthly meetings, in 1720 it was proposed that all the elders meet an hour before the Select Quarterly Meeting to judge "concerning the conduct of the ministers and the state of the ministry." The next year, 1721, the upper portions of Chester Monthly Meeting became known as Goshen Monthly Meeting, the sixth to be admitted to the fellowship of Chester Quarterly Meeting. Griffith John was the first Friend Goshen recommended in the ministry. He was a sort of precursor to John Woolman, bearing a testimony of simplicity to the extent that he did his extensive traveling in the ministry on foot. He died in 1778 aged ninety-five, having been active in the ministry about seventy years.

In the eight years from 1721 till 1729 when Nottingham Monthly Meeting was set off from New Garden there were twenty-two elders appointed and forty-one ministers recorded. One gets the feeling of the frontier; of great expansion; of a great overflowing of the love of Christ in the limits of the Quarterly Meeting. Wood, Jones, Richardson, Brown, Jackson, Mend-

enhall, Pennell, Smedley, Miller, Babb, Collins, Yarnall, Pierce, Pennock, Pearson, Townsend, Starr, Harvey, Swain, Dutton, Dean, Pyle, Speakman and Reynolds are some of the new names. Not all this gain was by birth, for several were like Michael Lightfoot of New Garden, who upon arrival from Ireland was recorded in 1725. And in the same year old Caleb Pusey exchanged a gift in the eldership for one in the ministry, being likewise recognized by New Garden. Notice should also be taken of Mary Pennell, ancestor of many ministering Friends of that name, who traveled extensively on horseback up and down frontier America and across the rough Atlantic to the British Isles. Chichester suggested her name in 1725. William Hammons was recorded by Chester in 1725. In later years his place of residence at Duck Creek was of the type which has given warmth to the reputation of Quaker hospitality. So the story went.

The eight years of expansion previous to 1729 brought great gains in the eight years succeeding. Some Friends set out westward from Nottingham which is on the Mason and Dixon line just north of the Chesapeake, and migrated to the Shenandoah Valley of northern Virginia. Here in 1735 was set off a group of Nottingham Friends as Hopewell Monthly Meeting. The names of John Bail and James Wright were submitted in 1737 as the first Hopewell elders. And in that latter year two additional monthly meetings appeared. Friends northwards of Newark were released as Bradford Monthly Meeting, and Friends northwards of New Garden became Sadsbury Monthly Meeting. Today Bradford is part of Caln Quarter (Arch Street), and Sadsbury is all of Caln Half-Year's Meeting (Race Street). Bradford's first appointment to the Select Quarterly Meeting was Francis Way, an elder in 1741. It wasn't till 1754 that Sadsbury made a suggestion, namely that Samuel Williams be appointed an elder.

We tend to think of Sadsbury today as on the fringes of Quakerism. This was not true two hundred years ago. It was the Main Line westward. In 1747 Sadsbury recommended that its members west of the Susquehanna become Warrington Monthly Meeting. William Garrison was proposed by that new meet-

ing to become an elder in that year, and approved. Until recently Warrington Meetinghouse was open once a year to the descendants of its founders. There have been stronger westward tides in the intervening years, sweeping Quakerism away from almost all of central Pennsylvania.

Southwards, however, in Virginia, Friends carry on today. While in the Civilian Public Service Camp at Mt. Weather, I worshipped with the Hopewell Friends frequently. In 1745 this meeting had so expanded that it set off Fairfax Monthly Meeting, from which meeting in 1757 Mary Janney was recommended as an elder. Fairfax Meeting lay east of the Blue Ridge, while Hopewell is west. Unlike its parent, Fairfax has withered and blown away, and tragically within our day. When the Separation of 1827-28 occurred both Hopewell and Nottingham, then parts of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, underwent division. Both exist intact, but worshipping together at Hopewell. At Nottingham, the so-called Orthodox branch is Colora Monthly Meeting, a part of Arch Street Western Quarter. The so-called Hicksite Nottingham Monthly Meeting continues a part of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Stony Run).

All the western part of Chester Quarterly Meeting, that is, Newark, New Garden, Bradford, Sadsbury and Warrington Monthly Meetings, and the southern part—Duck Creek, Hopewell and Fairfax—were separated from the parent body in 1758 to become Western Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Chester Quarter lost its frontier and rather naturally entered into the period called Quietism. One new monthly meeting had been added, that being Wilmington, established for the southern part of Newark Monthly Meeting in 1750. Newark, by the way, is now known as Kennett Monthly Meeting. Wilmington's first appointment was Joseph Hewes, as elder in 1757.

But to retrace our steps a bit to consider more carefully the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, we recall that between 1721 and 1729, twenty-two elders were appointed and forty-one ministers recorded. In the eight years following, that is until 1737, there were seventeen elders appointed and seventeen ministers. One cannot but be impressed with the falling off. It is true that such luminaries as John Churchman (1705-

1775) and Christopher Wilson (1690-1740) appeared on the scene, but the great golden outpouring was spent. This fact is the more noticeable when we discover that in the twenty years between 1737 and 1757 no minister was recorded. However, there were eighty-eight elders appointed during these years. Probably because of the falling off of ministering Friends, it seemed right to appoint women Friends as elders. At least the first such named was Elizabeth Cardwell of Concord Monthly Meeting in 1741. Of the eighty-eight elders, however, only twenty-six were women.

In 1755 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting decided to ask for answers to Queries for the first time in its history. This decision had great consequences for the Select Meetings. In the first place, each monthly meeting group of ministers and elders was expected to submit written answers to the Select Meeting Queries to the Select Quarterly Meeting. Eventually each monthly meeting formed a Preparative Meeting of Ministers and Elders which met four times a year to carry out the query function. Thus Chester Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders was composed of Chester, Darby, Goshen, Wilmington and Concord (formerly Chichester) Preparative Meetings of Ministers and Elders.

The establishment of Preparative Meetings of Ministers and Elders seemed to have had an enlivening influence. In the twenty-five years between 1758 and the close of the American Revolution in 1783, twenty-one ministers were recorded and fifty-four elders appointed. No doubt the retirement of Friends from political compromise in 1758 played its part in the revival of religious life in Chester Quarterly Meeting.

Also a new element had been introduced into the picture. Friends were becoming stricter in their interpretation of the Discipline. This was mirrored in Quarterly Meeting happenings. For instance, Phebe Yarnall, who was recorded a minister in 1775 by Concord Monthly Meeting was discontinued in 1778 for twelve years and then reinstated. One wonders if she was not clear on the peace testimony. Eight elders were released from their stations, mostly at their own request, four of whom were subsequently recorded as ministers and one who was reappointed as an elder.

One new monthly meeting was added, that being Uwchlan for the upper parts of Goshen Monthly Meeting in 1763. Their first appointment was William Lewis, an elder, in 1763. Uwchlan Monthly Meeting continued as part of Chester Quarter till 1800, when it was released to form a part of Caln Quarterly Meeting. Today it is a branch of the Arch Street Caln Quarter, located near Downingtown.

During these golden decades of the eighteenth century, Chester Quarterly Meeting grew rich and mellow. It reached its hundredth anniversary. Concord sat under the inspired ministry of Phebe Trimble. Uwchlan prospered with the vigor of the youthful Hugh Judge; his struggles for Elias Hicks lying far ahead of him. The first Samuel Bunting was beginning to speak at urbane Darby. Chester knew the watchful waiting of the caretaking Eli Yarnall. And as the new century began Margaret Brinton who lived at Birmingham was recorded in the ministry by Concord, which had usurped Providence's place as center of Chester Quarterly Meeting. Margaret Brinton, we may surmise, was an ancestor of Howard Brinton.

From 1783 till 1801, a period of eighteen years, Chester Quarterly Meeting continued to grow slowly. In 1800 the name was changed to Concord Quarterly Meeting. The following year the Select Meeting celebrated its centennial, a history roughly broken into two fifty-year periods—first of organizing its arrangements, and last answering its too detailed Query system. About the year 1801, the Select Queries were reduced to four, where they have since remained. Twelve new ministers were recorded, making a total for the century of at least ninety, or almost one per year. Forty-six elders were appointed in this last period, which made a total of 230 elders from 1701 to 1801. They were representative at one time or another of fifteen monthly meetings. So the Select Quarterly Meeting concluded its first phase of religious work. We might look for interesting personalities in the 1783-1801 period.

Robert Hatton, who was recorded a minister in 1784, was discontinued two years later. He was the second so dealt with. No reason is given, though the records of Uwchlan Monthly Meeting should tell the story. In 1788 Wilmington recorded

Zachariah Ferris, the first of that gifted family to enter the Select Meeting. The first Joseph Rhoads became an elder of Chester Monthly Meeting in 1794. And in 1796 Rachel Hunt, later a prominent Hicksite, was recorded a minister of Darby Monthly Meeting. In 1797 the first Philip Price became an elder of Concord. One wonders if the David Hilles who was appointed an elder of Uwchlan in 1799 was not the same man who thirty years later served as the first clerk of the Hicksite branch of Ohio Yearly Meeting. In 1786 Joshua Sharpless became an elder and in 1797, his wife, Ann Sharpless, was likewise recognized by Concord Monthly Meeting. In 1799 they were settled at Westtown School as its first superintendent and matron. The new century of Concord Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders began with the recognition of Rachel Price as a minister, also a Concord member, who with her husband Philip Price gave a strong Orthodox flavor to Westtown School where they were in charge during the troubled years. But already we can sense a foreshadowing of the tragic era to come. Division was the keynote of the Quaker century from 1801 to 1901, as reunion has been the moving spirit in the half century since 1901. These years lie beyond the scope of this brief paper, however. It is hoped that opportunity will allow for a 19th- and 20th- century sequel.

Notes and Documents

A NEWLY DISCOVERED LETTER OF GEORGE FOX

EDITED BY HENRY J. CADBURY

IN FEBRUARY 1947 the Haverford College Quaker Collection acquired from The Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia three early Quaker letters whose prior history was unknown. One of these letters was written by Margaret Fell and another by William Smith, and these two will be published in the *Journal of Friends' Historical Society* (London). The third letter was by George Fox and is printed below. It was addressed to Pieter Hendricks and Jan Claus, well-known Friends of Amsterdam, and was duly listed by Mark Swanner in the *Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers* (edited by Henry J. Cadbury, Philadelphia, 1939, see item 15, 23G, p. 174). The copy of this letter acquired by Haverford is in Mark Swanner's hand, but it has no address or other mark of having been the copy actually sent to Holland. Nor has it the endorsement usual with the copies of Fox's papers that were used for compiling the *Annual Catalogue*. Though Fox almost never wrote out his last name, the handwriting of the endorsement may be compared with that reproduced, as perhaps his own, in *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, I (1903), 10.

The date of writing, 8-1st Mo., 1682/83 — March 8, 1683 in present parlance — is three days earlier than the first entry in Fox's Itinerary Journal for that year *(The Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox*, Philadelphia, 1925, p. 77). According to the *Annual Catalogue* (15, 22G, p. 174), Fox wrote on the same date to William Penn and others in Pennsylvania. By the same evidence (15, 45G, p. 174 and 54G, p. 181) one may conjecture that the paper on marriages was a paper on hasty marriages in which Fox began with a quotation from *The Mirrour for Justices*. Not only the quotation but the full text of Fox's paper can be found, the latter on page 131, in the Book of Cases, Vol. I, 1661-1695, a folio manuscript volume of the London Meeting for Sufferings. According to the *Annual Catalogue* various other letters on marriage were sent to

Holland in 1683. Others are extant in the Colchester MSS 1, 10, 83, 94, 103 (see C. Fell-Smith, *Steven Crisp and His Correspondents, 1657-1692*, London, 1892.) A letter of Fox *To all Rulers and Magistrates*, written a fortnight before the date of his letter, was printed in English. Fox's *Epistle to the Household of the Seed of Abraham* was printed in English in 1682 (included as No. 382 in the collected *Epistles*, 1698) and in Dutch in 1684. These may or may not be the items intended.

The central subject of the letter is the establishment of meetings for business where there were groups of Friends on the continent. Scarcely any other evidence is forthcoming (yet see below) of a Monthly Meeting at Hamburg or of a Yearly Meeting at Danzig, still less of the meetings proposed by Fox at Friedrichstadt and in the Palatinate. They are not mentioned in W. Hubben, *Die Quäker in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Leipzig, 1929). This organizing interest is characteristic of Fox in this period and so are various of the religious phrases elsewhere in this letter.

The information that Friends in Barbados were kept out of their meetinghouses by the authorities in 1682, I have not met with elsewhere, nor do I know other correspondence with Holland that would explain the reference to books that Fox expected from Holland. For Roger Longworth, we now have an extended biography in W. I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1935), pp. 345-380. It mentions Longworth's recent activity in organizing a yearly meeting in Danzig and half-yearly meetings at Friedrichstadt and Hamburg (p. 362). Three days after Fox wrote of him in London in this letter, Longworth was committed to the Common Gaol of Surrey County (p. 363 f.).

London, 8 - 1st. Mo. 82/3

Dear Peter H. & J. C.

With my Love to you & your wives, & all the rest of ffriends, both in Holland & Germany & elsewhere. I recd thy letter dated ye [date not filled in]. And I was glad to hear of the prosperity of Truth and the unity that is among ffriends, the Lord preserve it; ffor it is the mind of the Lord, that all his people should be in

fellowship with him & one with another in his Light. Now thou writing, how ffriends have set up a yearly meeting at Danzig, which I like very well, which may sound the Truth and the Gospel the power of God in these parts of the world; And if they had it one year at ffredrickstadt, I think it would not do amiss, and the other year at Danzig: But that I shall leave to you as you shall feel or see meet: or an half yearly meeting at ffredrickstadt — once in the summer, after your yearly meeting in Holland: Which then if any ffriends come from England, they might visit them. — And 'tis very well that there is a monthly meeting setled at Hamborough, and so they should do at ffredrickstadt, and have a monthly meeting there; if they have not one; not of the same month, that Hamborough's is of; that if any ffriend should visit Hamborough monthly meeting, that they might then visit next ffredrickstadt And so they ought to have a monthly meeting at Danzig of all the ffaithful, if they have not one; and to see that all things are kept sweet and Clean in the power and spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, that Righteousness, virtue and holiness may flow over all, and that God's vineyard and Garden may bring forth holy and Righteous fruits to the glorifying of him; and the Lamps & Candles may be burning night & day in every one's Tabernacle, that all may dwell with the everlasting burning, and with God who is a consuming fire, to consume all the wicked, so that no wickedness may be in his Camp or holy generation. And so if they have not a Monthly Meeting in the Palatinate, they ought to have one; and wherever ffriends are gathered, the ffaithfull should have a monthly men- & womens-meeting, for that will follow naturally in the divine Life and heavenly unity of the Spirit, & Communion in the holy Ghost. And so my desire is, that all friends may be ffaithful and valiant for Gods Truth upon the Earth, and spread it abroad and keep an heavenly Intelligence and a Correspondence & ffellowship in the holy spirit one with another in all places: And spread books up and down, where you hear of any Tenderness.

And as for Passages here, Sufferings attends ffriends in most places, and Imprisonments very much, but the Lord with his power doth support his ffaithfull people to stand for his Glory. I hear that they have very pretious Meetings in William

Penn's Country and in New Jersey, & meetings are pretty quiet in other parts of America & in New England, and in Scotland & Ireland; but at Barbados they keep them out in the street, but there ffrds are prettily well, I understand by Letters. And the Lord keep & preserve all ffriends Chaiste in his power as virgins, with oil in their Lamps, that they may enter in with the Bridegroom, and not only so, but be married unto him, Christ Jesus and keep in him the Sanctuary, Amen,

G. F.

And I have not yet received the books, but its like, when they come, I shall receive them.

Roger Longworth is present and Remembers his Love to you all.

Here is a paper concerning Marriage & an Epistle of mine concerning Magistrates which you may make what use you will of them.

And another paper concerning the Seed of Abraham which you may print & send it among all ffriends.

[Inscription on back of letter, perhaps in the hand of George Fox].

g: ffox

WHITTIER'S ESTEEM IN GREAT BRITAIN

By John A. Pollard *

Edward J. Morris, of Philadelphia, said in a letter of January 10, 1882, to John G. Whittier:

> I received the enclosed letter today from my friend Samuel Gurney of England. As there is a message in it for thee, I forward it. — Thee is not aware (and perhaps tis as well) of the high estimation in which thee is held in the hearts of very many Englishmen and Women. — It was my pleasure to see and feel this when among them in person [in] 1879. [1]

This was a typical weathervane, an indicator of the favoring winds that blew in Whittier's direction during the last one-third of his life.

It was only when the Civil War ended that Whittier's day of financial relief and of personal honor began. In 1857, mainly because of his Abolitionism since 1833, he was in debt; a decade later *Snow-Bound* was published; in 1877 his seventieth birthday and in 1887 his eightieth were celebrated nationally. His great single cause and his authorship were both triumphant. Throughout the English-speaking world he was a man and a writer of particular mark, and it was altogether natural that he met Arnold, Wilkie Collins, Dickens, Kingsley, George MacDonald, and other men of letters on visit from the British Isles. On the personal reports of most of them, and on the representations of Americans like Bayard Taylor and Francis H. Underwood, Whittier came to be well-known and loved in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland and on the Continent of Europe.

Underwood, a prime mover in the founding of the *Atlantic* and Lowell's associate in editing it at the outset, wrote a very readable biography of Whittier that appeared in 1884. Thereafter he was for several years United States Consul in Glasgow, from where he wrote to Whittier on December 3, 1889:

> Your reputation in Great Britain is rapidly growing. I suppose you know that for a long time it was mainly confined to Friends, to Reformers, and to those especially interested in the literature of the U. S. It is no longer so. I find that your poems are known everywhere, and any reference to your name brings applause from audiences . . . . [2]

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* John A. Pollard is the author of a forthcoming biography of Whittier.

[1] Letter in Oak Knoll Collection, Essex Institute.

[2] Letter in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

It was peculiarly appropriate that Whittier's life and work should be known and admired in Scotland. From his youth, as is well-known, he ardently loved the poems of Robert Burns. He liked the free spirit of Scotland, of which he thought Carlyle's attitude on the slave question was a gross violation. Whittier rejoiced particularly in rediscovering the writings of John Bruce, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, author of *The Bruce.* In the *National Era* of January 7, 1847, Whittier wrote in high glee of 'the brave old minstrel-monk.' He said that in lately looking over some fragments of poetry of England in the Middle Ages, he was 'struck with the following animated and really beautiful apostrophe to Freedom':

> Ah ! Fredome is a nobill thing !
> Fredome mayse man to half liking !
> Fredome all solace to man gives;
> He levys at ease who freely levys.
> A nobill heart may haif nane ease,
> Nor nocht els that may hen plese,
> Gif Fredome failyth: for free liking
> Is yearnet for ower all other thing.
> And he, that ay hase levyt free
> May nocht know weill the properte
> The angyr, nor the wretchyt doome
> That couplyt is to foule thraldome !

Whittier had, it is clear, valid reasons for admiring Scotland.

Often called 'the American Burns,' he belonged almost without the formality of election to the Scottish Society of Literature and Art, which was formally instituted in January, 1886.[3] In its first annual report the Society explained its reason-for-being: 'Hitherto Scotland has been unrepresented by a National Institution for the Association by Fellowship of her men and women of letters. . . . ' Confident assurance was expressed in the report 'that the Society has supplied a want that was, in every respect, a National one.'

Luck did not favor it; the Society did not survive the war of 1914-1918. During its life it evidently held a high position, possibly even a leading one, among similar societies in Scotland,

[3] This and following information supplied by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

but it appears very unlikely that it had international weight as the agent or purveyor of a notable series of publications. It did, none the less, provide an international link among men of letters, some elected as Honorary and others as Corresponding Members. Distinguished foreigners could have felt only gratefully honored by invitations to membership in the Society, all the more because its constitution and rules thriftily specified that 'both Honorary and Corresponding Members shall be exempt from all subscriptions.'

Honorary members, elected for life, included Robert Browning, George MacDonald, the novelist, and Henry Irving and James Grant Wilson, both of New York. Two well-known native Scots also living in the United States were elected otherwise: Andrew Carnegie, of Pittsburgh, oddly described as the author of *Triumphant Democracy*, and Robert Louis Stevenson, then resident of New York, who was elected an honorary member on November 23, 1888. In the 1888-89 Calendar of the Society, Carnegie was listed, without literary flavor, in the more familiar style of donor.

'Mark Twain' was elected a Corresponding Member, for life, on August 24, 1886, and Whittier and O. W. Holmes on December 8 of that year. On the same date Jules Verne was likewise honored. In writing Whittier the offer of election, Mr. Alfred J. Weyman, Secretary, assured him that it was 'a distinction that as yet has only been conferred on Mr. Jules Verne and "Mark Twain".'[4] On October 18, 1889, Whittier began a letter to Mr. Weyman: 'I have just received the Diploma which certifies my election as a corresponding member of the Scottish Society of Literature and Arts. . . .' and there the fragment ended.[5] But it is probable that he earlier acknowledged and accepted with gratitude the offer which, coming from the land of Bruce and Burns, he regarded genuinely as a distinction.

Like others of its type, this Society existed mainly in order to listen to lectures from its own members or from outsiders. Lecture No. 8 listed in the 1888 Calendar was on Alec Wilson,

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[4] Letter in Oak Knoll Collection, Essex Institute.

[5] *Ibid.*

the Scottish poet and American ornithologist, and the tenth in that series was delivered by 'F. H. Underwood, Esq., LL.D., U. S. Consul and Hon. Member of the Society.' His subject was 'The New England Awakening.' Underwood played his part in awakening more people in the British Isles to the works of American authors, not least among them Whittier. His recommendations, to a people whose history was so often a stern record of man's fight for freedom, were obvious.

THE *1849* BEST SELLER

By C. Marshall Taylor*

THE Autumn 1948 number of the BULLETIN (p. 96) refers to the fact, as developed by Frank Luther Mott in his *Golden Multitudes* (New York, Macmillan, 1947), that *Poems* by John G. Whittier was the best seller of that decade; which meant that more than 175,000 copies were sold. Why? There was no Book-of-the-Month Club or Literary Guild to extol its virtues. It must have had merit and appeal all of its own.

B. B. Mussey of Boston was sympathetic to the anti-slavery movement and undoubtedly published this volume as a tribute to Whittier and his outstanding contributions to the "cause." It was a collection of poems which, with one exception, had already been published elsewhere or in previous Whittier books —*Poems* (1838), *Lays of My Home* (1843), *Voices of Freedom* (1846), and the London *Ballads* of 1844. It included several poems of particular interest to Friends—"Barclay of Ury," "The Quaker of the Olden Time," "My Soul and I," "Chalkley Hall," "The Reformer," "Worship," "To ——, with a copy of Woolman's Journal," and "Daniel Wheeler." This latter poem, though first published in *The Friend* (Phila.) August 1, 1840, had been included in the London *Ballads* by Whittier's direction, because "it would be pleasant perhaps to our English friends." There was also a curious poem, long since forgotten, called "The Pumpkin" but it had to do, much more appropriately, with pie, not papers!

* C. Marshall Taylor, a member of the Board of Directors of Friends Historical Association, has written a number of articles on Whittier.

This was the first comprehensive edition of Whittier's poems. Pickard records that this volume "met with an unexpectedly large sale, and Mr. Mussey earned the gratitude of Mr. Whittier by paying him more than he had agreed"—five hundred dollars for the copyrights, and also a percentage on sales.[1] It ran into several editions and had by all odds the most decorated binding, cloth or leather, ever used on Whittier's books. The portrait used did not altogether meet with Whittier's approval for he wrote "in the main, a poor picture."[2] In 1888 it was reengraved, with not much improvement, and used in Vol. 2 of the Riverside Edition.

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[1] *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston and New York, 1894), I, 347.

[2] Roberts Collection, Haverford College Library.

News of the Association

ANNUAL MEETING, 1948

FRIENDS Historical Association gathered for its annual session on Twelfth Month 11, 1948, at 8 p. m., in the great hall of the Old Customs House, 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, following an adjourned meeting at Haverford College on the stated date, Eleventh Month 29. In the absence in Europe of Howard W. Elkinton, Director of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, which now occupies the building, Friends were welcomed by Mary G. Cary, Librarian of the Foundation. President William W. Comfort conducted the brief business meeting, and reviewed the work of the Association during the year. Four Directors were re-elected to a three-year term expiring in 1951: C. Marshall Taylor, Frederick B. Tolles, Edward E. Wildman, and H. Justice Williams.

In commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Robert Barclay, Professor D. Elton Trueblood of Earlham College spoke on "Robert Barclay, Quaker Thinker." He told of his recent researches in England and Scotland concerning Barclay's life and thought, and reported the discovery of a new Barclay manuscript which throws light on this man whose career is almost as little known as his *Apology* is well known. He concluded with an appeal for a re-study of Barclay's ideas and a re-appraisal of what he has to contribute to the thinking of Friends in the twentieth century.

Following the lecture, Friends enjoyed refreshments in the Carl Schurz Foundation library, and had an opportunity to see the exhibit of Barclay's writings lent by the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

* * *

By action of the Board of Directors at its meeting on First Month 10, 1947, the manuscript holdings of Friends Historical Association have been distributed among suitable libraries having facilities for making them accessible to scholars. The great bulk of the material was divided between the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library and the Friends Historical

Library of Swarthmore College. Some manuscripts of purely genealogical interest were given to the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania and certain non-Quaker documents went to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Several items, being of the nature of official meeting records, were transferred to the Department of Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street).

* * *

The Sixth General Index of the Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, covering Volumes 31-35 (1942-1946) was published in 1948, and copies have been sent to all the libraries on our mailing list. It is being distributed gratis, and any one desiring a copy should apply to the Assistant Editor, Anna B. Hewitt, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania. This Index was prepared, as were the two preceding it, by Mrs. Thomas K. Brown, Jr., and we are indebted to her for her careful work in listing the entries and supervising its publication.

* * *

The Library of the Society of Friends at Friends House, London, needs a microfilm reading machine. In view of the notable role which this great library has played for many years in preserving and making available to scholars (including many American Quaker historians) its rich collections of historical Quakeriana, it seems fitting that American Friends should show their appreciation by making it possible to fill this need. Accordingly, the Board of Directors of Friends Historical Association, at its meeting on First Month 14, 1949 approved an appeal for this purpose, the gift to be a memorial to our beloved Quaker historian, Rufus M. Jones. Approximately five hundred dollars will be needed to purchase a suitable reading machine. Any member of the Association who would like to share in this memorial gift is encouraged to send his contribution to President William Wistar Comfort, Friends Historical Association, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

For the year 11th Month, 1947 to 11th Month, 1948

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, 11 mo. 1947		$1400.44	
Dues received — Current	1678.00		
Arrears	118.00		
In advance	33.00	1829.00	
Bulletins		135.70	
Interest on investments		151.10	
Receipts for Mid-Winter Dinner		129.50	
Gifts ($318.60—for investment)		355.60	
		$4001.34	4001.34

DISBURSEMENTS

Annual Meetings 1947 —	171.25		
1948 —	8.00	179.25	
Bulletin — Two issues		1035.57	
Editor's Fee		300.00	
Mid-Winter Dinner		179.11	
Spring Meeting		42.11	
Publication Fund (including Editor's Fee)		352.50	
Miscellaneous		164.64	
Investment Fund		492.12	
		2745.30	2745.30
Cash Balance on Deposit with Girard Trust Company			1256.04
Appropriated for Publication Fund	$ 100.00		
Available for Current Expenses	1156.04		
	1256.04		

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM MINTZER WILLS,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct:
EDWARD WOOLMAN
SAMUEL J. BUNTING, JR.

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11 mo. 1948

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

$1000.	St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Income 4½% Due 2022.	
30	Shares. Philadelphia Electric Company Common Stock	
30	Shares. Scranton Electric Company Common Stock	
41	Shares. Chase National Bank Common Stock	
	Book value	$4,121.55
	Income yield	176.60

Book Reviews

George Fox's 'Book of Miracles.' Edited with an introduction and notes by Henry J. Cadbury. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948. 162 pp. $6.50.

TO WRITE an index from a completed book is a commonplace performance but to write a book from an index is a unique undertaking. This is what Henry J. Cadbury has done as a result of researches at the Library in Friends House, London where he discovered the table of contents of George Fox's lost and as yet unrecovered *Book of Miracles*. *The Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, made in 1694 to 1698 and published in part by Henry J. Cadbury in 1939 was accompanied in the same volume by an alphabetical index. By picking out from this index of approximately 15,000 entries those marked with a special symbol which indicated reference to the *Book of Miracles*, he succeeded in reconstructing an outline of the contents of the book. Under each key word in the index are the beginning words and ending words of the passage in which the word occurred. With this strategic information, supplemented by the fact that most of the 171 episodes in the lost book were indexed under more than one word, Henry Cadbury was able to identify many of the miracles as related in Fox's Journal or in other manuscripts. In most cases where no identification was possible considerable information is given by Henry Cadbury concerning the persons referred to in the index.

The original plans for publishing all of Fox's writings were abandoned when three large folio volumes, the *Journal*, 1694, the *Epistles*, 1698, and the *Doctrinals*, 1706, were produced. Why was the *Book of Miracles* not only not printed, but even "lost"? There are references to it in the Journal manuscript, but these belong to dates later than 1675 when most of the Journal was written. Thomas Ellwood in editing the Journal omitted these references and many of the miracles as well as many of the dreams, visions, prophecies and other supernatural phenomena, but he allowed twelve miracles to remain, being careful to attribute the power to the Creator rather than the creature. The increased reserve of Friends regarding events which might expose them to ridicule and whose truth often rested on insecure foundations was part of the effort to preserve their new-won status after a long hard struggle which ended with the Act of Toleration. The first "breaking forth of Truth" was accompanied by a fiery zeal resulting in extravagances of various kinds. Geoffrey Nuttall's pamphlet *Studies in Christian Enthusiasm* (Pendle Hill, 1949) gives evidence of this, and Henry Cadbury's introduction to the *Book of Miracles* corroborates it. As in early Christianity this great new outpouring of the spirit so affected the Quakers that to one was given "the gifts of healing by the Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another prophecy." (I Cor. 12:9-10)

Two-thirds of Henry Cadbury's book is given over to a Foreword by Rufus M. Jones and an Introduction by the author. This Introduction exhibits Henry Cadbury's unrivaled knowledge of Quaker history in all its details. It is common knowledge that the Seekers of the 17th century were looking for prophets and that they found them in the Quakers, but it is not generally realized that many persons of that time assumed that a claim to prophetic inspiration would be substantiated by the ability to work miracles. To speak for the Lord was to possess miraculous power which could heal bodies as well as souls. A few Quakers tried to live up to this expectation with unfortunate results. Others, notably Fox, possessed the powerful personality which could sometimes prevail over physical or mental disability. There is no reason to doubt Fox's extraordinary power. Ample evidence survives of actual cases of spiritual healing. However, we know that Fox's exuberant enthusiasm might have led him to an unintended exaggeration in relating events years after they happened. There was never at any time an opposition among Friends to the medical profession as there has been with some faith-healing sects. Fox believed in naturalistic medical cures and he was frequently engaged in purely spiritual services of sympathy and encouragement. There is early evidence of gatherings of Quaker doctors. Many Quaker women possessed an extended knowledge of elementary medical facts and exchanged such information among themselves.

The Quaker leaders, including Fox, denied the necessity of miracles as a guarantee of prophetic inspiration. Penn puts this clearly when he says "We have received and maintained our faith in Christ by more noble and sublime arguments than that of miracles, namely the truth, reason, equity, holiness and recompence of the Christian religion which miracles can never render more or less intrinsically so" (quoted on p. 30). But we must not forget that the claim to perform miracles of healing is based on the same view of life which admits the providential escapes from disaster, inward leadings to unexpected service, and other such circumstances so often described in the Quaker Journals even up to modern times.

Henry Cadbury devotes a good deal of space to showing the pre-scientific character of the age in which Quakerism arose when "miracles of healing" were fairly common. But it is still true that science must bow its head in humility before spiritual powers which it can neither understand nor control. Healing through faith in the power of God is no fiction of the imagination. Especially must this be reckoned with in the realm of mental disease in which many of Fox's miracles occurred. It is interesting to learn that Fox's extraordinary letter to Lady Claypoole, Cromwell's daughter who was "sick in the mind," was distributed widely and read to "distracted people and it settled several of their minds" (p. 111). It still has the same power.

Quakerism cannot be said to have suffered by the loss of the *Book of Miracles*. Indeed the impulse to withhold it from general circulation was based on correct judgment. More would have been lost than gained in an age when science was struggling to establish its proper claims by propagating these instances which, as recounted, represent the end of an epoch. But the reasons for not publishing the *Book of Miracles* in the 17th century no longer exist today and we owe a great deal to Henry Cadbury for preserving the essence of this material in such a way as to give us insight into a little known corner of our history.

Pendle Hill Howard H. Brinton

* * *

Studies in Christian Enthusiasm Illustrated from Early Quakerism, by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Wallingford, Pennsylvania, Pendle Hill, 1948. 96 pp. Fifty cents.

THIS little book provides an interesting picture of early Quakerism, especially of its spirit of enthusiasm. It is "intense feeling," as Howard H. Brinton says in his Foreword, which characterizes the first Quakers and which may sometimes have overreached itself and have become a danger. But the best things in this life cannot be had without risk, and so this book on Christian enthusiasm shows us the eternal truth that man by reaching to his greatest height will come dangerously near to sin and fall. This danger is most clearly seen in the last chapter, when Mr. Nuttall treats the extravagances of enthusiasm, as they appear in the Ranters, a sect not to be identified with the Quakers. But it is not only with regard to the Ranters that Mr. Nuttall makes the concluding remark: "We are to use all God's gifts to the full; and at the same time not to suppose that . . . we shall make no mistakes. But better far to make mistakes. . . than to dismiss the way of Christian enthusiasm as altogether too dangerous." The five main chapters are devoted to five outstanding personalities: Thomas Aldam, Richard Farnworth, Thomas Holme and James Nayler, all of them representative figures of the 17th century. In each of these men Mr. Nuttall tries to depict a special brand of enthusiasm: a moral, didactic, emotional, and spiritual enthusiasm. The last of these men, the spiritual James Nayler, seems to have been the most interesting personality; the tension between saintliness and human deficiency makes him a tragic figure of first importance, and Mr. Nuttall shows great ability in making this man as well as the four others fully alive. Thus for its length (90 pages) this book covers its ground very well and holds the interest of the reader throughout its content, comprising many quotations of original writings.

Haverford College Martin Foss

John Greenleaf Whittier. Friend and Defender of Freedom. A Narrative Biography, by Fredrika Shumway Smith. Boston, The Christopher Publishing House, 1948. 228 pp. $2.75.

THERE are books that try men's souls, to use a paraphrase, and this one belongs in that class. The author purports to have spent "five years of extensive research," yet produces a potpourri of misinformation and mistakes, and thereby spoils what could have been an interesting narrative biography.

John Greenleaf Whittier deserves better treatment than this book gives him. In an attempt to depict him, possibly for younger readers, the author missed a splendid opportunity to take advantage of the many phases of his life which continue their appeal to youth.

The author almost out-Mordellizes the love affairs, which undoubtedly did play an important part in Whittier's life; but why belabor them when there is so much of good to relate?

Quakers will be surprised to learn that their meetinghouses have "pews" and that "Fighting Quaker" was a favorite cognomen for Whittier. Also, pacifists will be shocked and military men will have to revise their manuals when they learn that "a regiment [of Quakers] one hundred thousand strong went into the services of their country" in the war of the Rebellion.

It is also news that William Lloyd Garrison was editor of the *National Era* while *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was being serialized. A casual perusal of the masthead of that periodical discloses that G[amaliel] Bailey was Editor and Proprietor, and that John G. Whittier was Corresponding Editor.

The story of "Barbara Frietchie" takes another turn, for Mrs. Southworth is erroneously accused of calling Mrs. Quantrell "Barbara Frietchie." My own information relative to this immortal poem comes almost first hand because I happen to own the original letter which Mrs. Southworth wrote to Whittier, on the sole basis of which the poem was written.

The narrative type of biography is a useful tool to personalize conversations, real and fictitious, and the author does on occasion use it to good advantage, though she falls into the error, prevalent amongst so many modern Quakers, of using "thee" and "you" in the same conversation, in fact in the same sentence sometimes.

To close this recitation of only a few of the glaring inaccuracies and to climax them, one needs only refer to the fact that the author classes Walt Whitman as "another Quaker poet of New England."

New York City C. MARSHALL TAYLOR

Chester County Clocks and Their Makers, by Arthur E. James. West Chester, Pennsylvania, Chester County Historical Society, 1946. 205 pp. $4.50.

FROM the primitive sundial of our remote ancestors to the finest modern jeweled chronometer, man has shown an unfailing interest, amounting at times almost to reverence, for the instrument that measures the minutes, days, and years of his existence. Probably the greatest of these, in point of historic interest in America, has been the tall clock, affectionately known at the Grandfather Clock. Individual makers of these now prized possessions seem to have been scattered throughout the colonies from about 1710 to at least 1850, when quantity production methods began to rob the profession of its art and charm.

Dr. Arthur E. James of West Chester has brought to life some fifty-two names—many of them Quaker names—who in spare time or as a profession built tall clocks and lived in Chester County. Dr. James's pages, in which he describes the clocks and the men who made them, are rich in genealogical lore and intimate local interest. Much credit is due him for his painstaking research, for the many miles he traveled to examine the fine old clocks now scattered through many states and incidentally to gain the friendship and confidence of those he visited. And above all he is to be commended for the interesting manner and meticulous care with which he has recorded a wealth of material. Those who love old clocks will particularly admire the illustrations.

Historians and collectors alike will welcome this volume to place on their shelves beside Dr. James's previous pioneer work *The Potters and Potteries of Chester County*. And for you and me, who read the name engraved or painted across the open dial of our own Grandfather Clock—if we are so fortunate as to possess one—and wonder about the man who so carefully placed it there, perhaps ours may be one of Arthur James's Chester County clocks, upon which he has bestowed such care and affection.

Moylan, Pennsylvania T. Barclay Whitson

* * *

Thomas Earle as a Reformer, by Edwin B. Bronner. Philadelphia, Author, 1948. 97 pp.

AFTER the recent abortive attempt of a third party to make an impression on the political scene, it is of interest to look back one hundred years and to find that the anti-slavery Liberty Party fared no better. Thomas Earle was that party's candidate for Vice-President of the United States in 1840.

The brief biography by Edwin Bronner brings to the fore the life of a man of unquestioned grace and talent, but one who was the exponent of unpopular causes and who was full of inconsistencies. He was a

Jeffersonian in Philadelphia, a city of conservatives. He was of undoubted integrity, yet was disowned by his Meeting for preferring in bankruptcy some creditors to others. He was a winsome and persuasive speaker, yet all too frequently opposed motions to adjourn, to the dismay and annoyance of his colleagues. He was an enthusiast for the newly invented railroad, but thought the best method of propulsion was an engine with a horse working a treadmill.

The opposition of Thomas Earle to slavery arose from real conviction, and was acted upon throughout his life with vigor, but with moderation and wisdom. In advocating political action for Abolitionists he said there were three alternatives in the Nation: "1—leave government to evil men who now control it; 2—overthrow it by revolution; or 3—participate in government; vote and elect better men." His advocacy of the third alternative is perhaps sound advice even today.

In addition to his careful treatment of the biographical material, Mr. Bronner sets forth some interesting sidelights of the anti-slavery movement at that time. It is, however, rather unfortunate that he elects to treat the life of Thomas Earle topically rather than chronologically, for somehow in so doing he deprives the reader of a cohesive and developing picture of the man, and Thomas Earle must have been a very real person indeed.

To Haverfordians the book is of especial interest for the sister of Thomas Earle was the mother of two presidents of Haverford College, Thomas Chase and Pliny Earle Chase.

In summary, it is pleasant to have this biography of a man of parts, active in the world of reform, political and social, who though perhaps not attaining great national stature, was nevertheless a figure of respect and note in his day.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania WILLIAM MORRIS MAIER

* * *

Friends School in Wilmington: An Account of the Growth of the School from its Beginnings to the Present Time. Prepared by a Committee Appointed by the Board of Managers of the School. Wilmington, Delaware, 1948. 129 pp. $2.50.

A BOOK like this is of course of intense interest to those who know the institution described. Its reference to familiar incidents and persons, its pictures and its lists of alumni, teachers and committee members awaken many memories. Naturally of the earlier history of the School's two hundred years comparatively little information is now available. In the light of these factors the book is skilfully compiled and deserves a place in any library of the history of Quaker education.

The general reader will note with special interest any impression it gives of the transformation of educational policy which confessedly has been revolutionary. The early school, for example, was small,

sometimes several schools, scarcely at all coeducational, taught by untrained, quite casual incumbents. There are illuminating sidelights on the early school's discipline, architecture, finance, ventilation, sanitation, etc. Relatively little is told of the School's relation to the Society of Friends or to the local community in more recent times. One finds evidence that occasionally Negroes attended, not only in the 18th century but as recently as 1893. Seventy years ago the Committee still believed that "Education must be autocratic to be successful."

When is a school a really Quaker school? That is a hard question to answer. This one has always been under the supervision of a Meeting Committee. The Quaker membership in the staff or student body has apparently never been large. Two obvious ways in which such a school may show its colors are in minor features of policy in wartime and in its use of a Friends' Meeting. One of the most interesting features of the book is the quotation of alumni reminiscences and among these one notes Henry Seidel Canby's description of compulsory meeting (p. 44) with the opinion, "I can think of no other instance where a religious ceremony, not respected and in the charge of the crusted and incapable, almost meaningless in the words articulated, has had so powerful an effect upon so many who believed themselves alien."

Cambridge, Massachusetts HENRY J. CADBURY

Briefer Notices

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

On May 14, 1811, Rowse Taylor of Newport, Rhode Island, with his wife Mary (*née* Mitchell), two boys named James and Peter, and his Cousin Mary, started westward in their own carriage via Cousin Isaac's in Hopewell, Pennsylvania, and settled near Smithfield, Ohio. A long manuscript letter to those he left behind that Rowse finished December 2 is extant in private hands, twenty-eight pages long. Under the title "Quaker Movers to the Ohio," Horace Reynolds describes, summarizes or quotes it in the *Christian Science Monitor* for February 27, 1948. If any confirmation were necessary it is found in the monthly meeting records belonging to Newport and to Plymouth (Ohio). In 1814 their membership was moved again to Plainfield Monthly Meeting, Ohio.

* * *

Louis T. Merrill in an article on "The Puritan Policeman" in the *American Sociological Review,* 10 (1945), 766-776, deals with the severity of the penal code in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century as illustrated *inter alia* by their treatment of the Quakers (pp. 768-769), and decides that it led to callousness in the popular mind, to the increase of immorality, and to the discrediting of the clergy who were responsible for the severity of the laws. Clifford K. Shipton, on the other hand,

writing on "Puritanism and Modern Democracy" in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* 101 (1947), 181-198, wishes to represent Massachusetts Puritanism as "the cutting edge of the forces which hewed out modern democracy, liberty and humanitarianism," instead of being "synonymous with bigotry, cruelty and backwardness." He partly doubts the "secondhand" reports of George Bishop, partly vindicates the severe treatment of the Quakers on political grounds, and decides that in contrast with the "charming and gentle and good Quakers" of today there must have been, though only for five years, a radical and offensive wave of Quakerism (pp. 188-190).

* * *

An article by Kenneth R. Rossman on "Thomas Mifflin—Revolutionary Patriot" in *Pennsylvania History,* 15 (1948), 9-23, is a revision of one which appeared in *Abstracts in History,* 5 (1939-1943, Iowa City). It is evidently condensed from a longer thesis. See this BULLETIN, 29 (1940), 46. Mifflin (1744-1800) was a Friend until Philadelphia Monthly Meeting disowned him in July, 1775, "for being active in the promotion of military measures." Dr. Rossman does not mention this or other features of his career except his military service and his rather disappointing political experience during the revolutionary period.

* * *

In *American Literature,* 19 (1947), 41-57. Max L. Griffin writes on "Whittier and Hayne: a Record of Friendship." Using by quotation and otherwise some largely unpublished correspondence in the Duke University Library he shows more fully than earlier biographies of either poet how in spite of their ardor for North and South respectively through the Civil War they afterward maintained by correspondence a warm friendship.

* * *

H. Trevor-Roper contributes a note to *The English Historical Review,* 62 (1947), 377-79, on William Dell. He reports that examination of autograph manuscripts shows by the handwriting that the William Dell who was secretary to Archbishop Laud was not the same as the Puritan rector of Yelden and Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The former disappears from view soon after erecting a memorial tablet to Laud in St. John's College, Oxford. The latter William Dell was ejected from Yelden in 1662 and died in 1664. Though not of course a Friend, his writings were highly regarded in the Society and republished by them. (See Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books,* vol. I, pp. 520-522).

* * *

Theologische Rundschau published in 1941-1943 (vols. 13-15) six instalments of a bibliographical article by Eberhard Teufel on "*Täufertum und Quäkertum.*" It contains much information about some continental antecedents of Quakerism, but in the 150 pages so far printed nothing was yet said about Quakerism itself. The periodical resumed

publication in 1948, and an instalment, still on the continental Mennonites, has appeared (vol. 17, 1948, pp. 161-81).

* * *

The Journal of Religion (vol. 28, 1948, 51-56) publishes what it calls a "review article" by Winthrop S. Hudson entitled "Mystical Religion in the Puritan Commonwealth." Reviewing favorably G. F. Nuttall's *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, he attempts to divide the mystical tendency in Puritanism into two strands, the pietistic and the legalistic. The latter, which I should call rather archaistic, survived in nonconformity, especially in Quakerism, and contributed in an important way to social liberalism.

* * *

There is some fiction or inaccuracy about Mary Dyer, the Quaker martyr, in *The Ancestry of James H. Dyer*, by James H. Dyer (published for the author, without place or date). In the appendix, however, he refers to an article in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (vol. 94, 1940, 300 ff.), in which E. Theresa Dyer with great probability identifies Mary Dyer with the Maria Barrett who was married to William Dyer, according to the parish records of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London, on October 27, 1633. For a different view of her background, see the reference in this Bulletin, vol. 33 (1944), 45.

* * *

One of the less inaccurate or fulsome accounts of Friends and their Service Committee appearing lately in popular magazines is by Clarence Woodbury in *The American Magazine*, and is entitled "Friends of the World" (vol. 145, 1948, 30 ff).

* * *

Like other local English societies of its kind, the Bedfordshire Historical Society has in spite of the war maintained its standards. In its *Publications* (vol. 25, 1947, 110-128) is a model of modern biographical and bibliographical research by H. G. Tibbutt, entitled "John Crook, 1617-1699: a Bedfordshire Quaker." It concludes that Crook's influence in this and neighboring counties "on those of his own sect was at least as great as that of his contemporary Bunyan on the Baptists, and [his] printed works for long enjoyed a great reputation."

The same society included in its *Publications* (vol. 20, 1938, 145-229), with a separate index (pp. 243-249), an extended article "Recusancy and Nonconformity in Bedfordshire, illustrated by select documents between 1622 and 1842," edited by W. M. Wigfield, M. A. Though it covers a longer period, fully thirty of the persons named recur in Besse's *Sufferings* for Bedfordshire, and throughout it is useful for local Quaker history.

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Sidney Katz contributed a racy popular article "Rufus Jones: Your Best Friend on Earth," to the May Number of *Magazine Digest* (vol. 36, 1948, 15-21).

Under the imprint "Salem Quarterly Meeting, West Jersey, 1948" was issued the thirty-six page illustrated pamphlet *Tercentenary of the Gathering and Founding of the Religious Society of Friends by George Fox, 1948-1952.* It includes a brief review of Quaker history. It emphasizes and illustrates from old journals the difficulties of travel in West Jersey. It gives a condensed history of seven particular meetings in Salem Quarter, and adds some other matters of interest. We understand Walter Hall was a principal contributor to its contents.

* * *

A supplement to Volume I of Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* has been published (Washington, 1948) containing besides errata and addenda abstracts of data derived from a recent find of some eighty pages belonging to the oldest (Perquimans Monthly Meeting) of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting records. These items begin as early as 1681 and extend half a century.

* * *

The Flushing (Long Island) Historical Society has published in leaflet form an address delivered January 29, 1948, by its president, August Kupka, on the *American Quakers in Colonial and Modern Times.* It compares the fortunes of the Friends in New Netherland with their experiences in New England and in Pennsylvania and deals eulogistically with their modern services.

* * *

Among local histories of Friends Meetings we mention here late but not least the illustrated pamphlet *Springfield 1773-1940,* by Sara Richardson Haworth. It commemorates 150 years of the Monthly Meeting at Springfield, North Carolina, and describes the growth of the community, migrations to it and from it, its outstanding members and developments. Among these was the work of Francis T. King, Joseph Moore, and Allen Jay for the Baltimore Association. Later a Memorial Association was formed and it created a museum to preserve the articles used in the earlier days in the community.

* * *

An illustrated thirty-eight page pamphlet written by James Lomax and "published on the occasion of its Tercentenary by the Nottingham Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends" bears the title *A History of Quakers in Nottingham 1648-1948.* It begins: "Although Nottinghamshire has never been a stronghold of Quakerism it may fairly claim to be the birthplace of the movement, for it was in this county that George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, made his first converts." In Nottingham proper John Reckless was an early convert; the most notable later Friends were the Howitt family, including the authors William and Mary Howitt. Samuel Fox (1782-1868) was a leader in the Adult School Movement. James Lomax has used to good purpose the local records to relate the sufferings of Friends in the city and to describe their organization and their successive properties.

Published in 1948 but without date or imprint is an illustrated pamphlet by Nathan H. Conrow entitled *Historical Sketches of Westfield Meeting and School.* This school at Westfield, New Jersey, preceded the meeting house (built 1800, burned and rebuilt 1859). The preparative meeting was authorized in 1801. The pamphlet deals mainly with the local property which came into control of the so-called Hicksites, but it also includes notes about some general features of Quakerism.

* * *

Perhaps no other Friend has been immortalized in chinaware as has Richard Jordan (1756-1826), of Newtown, New Jersey. Dinner pieces portraying his home in brown or pink have long been collectors' pieces, but his identity was explained to them in *Antiques* (vol. 35, 1939, 176-7) in an illustrated article, "Who is this Richard Jordan?" The Staffordshire ware was produced by Joseph Heath and Company of Tunstall and was evidently very popular.

* * *

"Whittier's Attitude toward Colonial Puritanism," as chronologically followed through his writings by Louis C. Schaedler in *The New England Quarterly* (vol. 21, 1948, 350-369), was generally objective rather than critical. He usually avoided the partisan attitude of his time. Such hostility as he betrays was due either to the occasions when his pro-slavery contemporaries seemed to be well described in terms of bigoted priests of early New England or to "the method of his contemporary historians of blackening the Quakers to make the Puritans look whiter."

* * *

The article "Triadelphia: Forgotten Maryland Town," by Esther B. Stabler in *Maryland Historical Magazine* (vol. 43, 1948, 108-120) tells the story of a town near Sandy Spring founded in 1809 and provided with factory, mills and store by three Quaker brothers-in-law, Isaac Briggs, Thomas Moore, and Caleb Bentley. The biography of these founders and the story of the town's decline are included in the article. The site is now a reservoir for suburban Washington.

* * *

The Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County (vol. 6, 1948, 91-171), contains an article of unusual length on "Montgomery County's Greatest Lady: Lucretia Mott," by Homer T. Rosenberger. Its appropriateness is due to the fact that the subject lived the last twenty-three years of her life (1857-1880) at "Roadside," on the Old York Road, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Besides pictures of this house, which is no longer standing, and of Lucretia Mott, the article prints many out-of-the-way documents and records.

* * *

The August issue of the little Iowa historical monthly *The Palimpsest* (vol. 29, 1948, 225-256) is devoted to Herbert Hoover, his boyhood and his birthplace, with eight pictures.

Carter G. Woodson contributes to *The Negro History Bulletin* (vol. 11, 1948, 147-148, 167) an article on "The Bustill Family," of Philadelphia. The family was closely connected with Friends and at least one, Sarah Mapps Douglass, was a member.

* * *

A revealing account of love-making in Quakerism a century and a half ago, based on the furtive original notes exchanged by John Comly and Rebekah Budd, is the fifth instalment in Henry J. Cadbury's "Footnotes to Westtown History," entitled "The First Faculty Courtship" in *The Westonian* (vol. 54, Spring Number, 1948, 6-10).

* * *

In the *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (vol. 15, 1948, 81-83) is printed a map of the property long held by Friends, on James Street, Bridgetown, Barbados, together with a list of a dozen documents which showed the legal transfers of the property in the seventeenth century. From the deeds recorded in the Registration office there have also been given the dates and other details of these transfers. This property belonged to the Methodists from 1861 to 1947.

* * *

George C. Mason, writing in the *Virginia Historical Magazine* (vol. 55, 1947), on "Colonial Churches of Henrico and Chesterfield Counties, Virginia," discusses (pp. 56-57) the four Quaker Meetings which in Henrico County rivalled the four Established churches.

* * *

George Fox continues to turn up in unexpected places, as he did of old. Wendell Thomas in a volume *On the Resolution of Science and Faith* (New York, Island Press, 1946) includes a section on "The Gospel according to George Fox" (pp. 48-56). Umphrey Lee in a book on church and state entitled *Render unto the People* (Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1947) selects George Fox (pp. 152-154) to illustrate "the prophetic ministry of our religion."

* * *

"Colonial Homes in West River Hundred," by William E. Richardson, in the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (vol. 44-45, 1942-43, 103-125), besides some homes of Quaker ownership, deals with the first meeting in Maryland and with the Quaker burial ground at West River.

In the same volume (pp. 215-239), Grace D. Peter edited "Unpublished letters of Dolly Madison to Anthony Morris relating to the Nourse Family of the Highlands." Even as late as 1839, some of Dolly Madison's Quaker background shows in this correspondence.

* * *

"More Penn Correspondence, Ireland, 1669-1670," by Henry J. Cadbury in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (vol. 73, 1949, pp. 9-15) adds four more items to the correspondence of the same period published in the same magazine in 1946.

K. L. Carrick Smith's *The Church and the Churches* (London, Student Christian Movement Press, 1948) is called a book on Christian unity. It aims to explain the different approaches to vital questions of sundry Christian groups, and to show how worthy they all are, and then to describe in five chapters "several sorts of believers." In Chapter IX the Religious Society of Friends is treated accurately and sympathetically, as one would expect of a book written by Miss Smith while at Woodbrooke. Anybody wishing a description of the Society of Friends reduced to a dozen pages could hardly find a better one than this.

* * *

Three articles appearing in Catholic British monthlies by H. W. J. Edwards, formerly himself a Friend, will give Quaker readers a quite unfamiliar perspective. They are "Quaker Aristocrat [i. e., Stephen Grellet] and Pius VII," in *The Month* (vol. 184, 1947, 160-166); "Quaker Tercentenary," in *The Month* (vol. 185, 1948, 166-172); and "In Praise of Quakers," in *Blackfriars* (vol. 29, 1948, 408-417). Needless to say criticism is mixed with the praise.

* * *

Felix Hull, Assistant Archivist in the county record office, contributes to the *Essex Review* (vol. 56, 1947, pp. 64-72) an article on "Early Friends in Central and Northern Essex." Like some studies on Quakerism in other parts of England it is based not on their own records but on the Visitation Books, 1662-89, of Middlesex, one of the three archdeaconries covering Essex. Limiting himself to those names identified in the books or elsewhere as Quaker, he is able to list over six score persons. Of these none is well-known and few of them appear even in Besse's *Sufferings*. The grounds of complaint given against them are various, including teaching schools with quaking books.

The same author in the same journal (vol. 57, 1948, pp. 60-71) adds a second article, "More Essex Friends in the Restoration Period."

* * *

Of many good books published recently on the radical groups at the time of the rise of Quakerism, none is better than W. Schenk's *The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1948, 180 pages). Beside studying the Levellers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchists, and other reformers and critics, Dr. Schenk devotes a careful section to the first Quakers (chapter VII, pp. 114-131) to determine from contemporary sources how far they moved towards economic and social radicalism and why they moved no farther.

* * *

In *American Spiritual Autobiographies: Fifteen Self-Portraits*, edited by Louis Finkelstein, (New York, Harper, 1948), Rufus M. Jones is one of the contributors; for each of whom is also provided a portrait and a biographical sketch.

Six Quaker lectures, mostly given at the summer conference in Hundorp in 1947 are published in Norwegian by Stabenfeldt Forlag, in Stavanger, Norway, under the title *Kvekertanker* (78 pages). The authors are two British (Hugh Doncaster and Arthur Raistrick); two Norwegian (Wilhelm Aarek and Ole F. Olden); one Swedish (Emilia Fogelklou Norlind), and one American (Henry J. Cadbury). Except the last (*Friends Quarterly*, 1948, pp. 155 ff.), these have not appeared in English.

* * *

A newly discovered collection of thirty-three letters written to or by William Dewsbury, one of the "First Publishers of Truth," or to his wife Ann has been edited by Henry J. Cadbury and published by Friends Historical Society in England as Supplement No. 22 to the Society's *Journal*. A few copies of this Supplement are available to members of Friends Historical Association at $1.00. Orders may be addressed to Friends Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Penna.

* * *

As a centennial memory *More Books*, published in September, 1948 (vol. xxiii, pp. 243-250) an account of "The First Woman's Rights Convention" by Alma Lutz. The article, aiming to assign accurately the share of credit for that epochmaking event, selects Elizabeth Cady Stanton as *dux femina facti*. But her associates were all Quakeresses. James Mott presided at the first Meeting. Susan B. Anthony, another Quaker, did not join the movement until 1851.

* * *

The July, 1948, issue of *Rochester History* (vol. 10, Nos. 2-3) contains a twenty-four page article by the editor on "Woman's Rights in Rochester: a Century of Progress." It begins with an account of the convention held on August 2-3, 1848, in Rochester, New York, which followed within two weeks the famous one at Seneca Falls, and like that was largely promoted by Hicksite Friends.

* * *

Word Study, a little magazine published by the lexicographic firm G. & C. Merriam Co., contains in the February, 1949, issue (vol. 24, No. 3) an article by Irvin C. Poley, "Quakers and Words: Some Stories about Friends." Much of the material was to be found in the same writer's Pendle Hill pamphlet, *Quaker Anecdotes*, but it reaches here a different audience.

* * *

The Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania concluded in vol. 16, 1942-44, after nearly fifty years and thirty instalments, the selections from the early minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. The abstracts cover from January, 1682/3 to December, 1775. They were started in 1898 in vol. 1 by Gilbert Cope.

The Annual Report of the Haverford Quaker Collection for 1947-48 records the acquisition by purchase of the rare first edition of William Bartram's *Travels* and by gift of the botanical writings of William Darlington and Humphry Marshall. Manuscripts and books belonging to President Isaac Sharpless and pictures of members of the Gurney family are also mentioned as notable new acquisitions. The Annual Report of the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College devotes special attention to the gift of a vast amount of genealogical material gathered by the late William Wade Hinshaw, compiler of the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy;* through the generosity of Mrs. Hinshaw this material indexing the information of genealogical value in the records of 198 American meetings is being copied on cards for ready reference. Swarthmore reports among other gifts the receipt of a large number of Elkinton family papers and the manuscript autobiography of Dr. Nathan Shoemaker.

Both libraries record the acquisition of additional material on microfilm; the Swarthmore Report notes that over the past 10 years, 617 volumes of meeting records have been filmed. Both libraries announce the receipt of typescript copies of important doctoral dissertations on Quaker subjects: Haverford has Anne G. Pannell's Oxford thesis on "The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, 1750-1785," and Swarthmore has an English version of Gerardina Van Dalfsen's thesis on the Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light with special reference to Robert Barclay. Under the heading of personnel news, Haverford mentions the forthcoming visit of Anna B. Hewitt to the library of the Society of Friends in London, and Swarthmore announces with great regret the resignation of E. Virginia Walker as Assistant Librarian.

* * *

One of the Friends who came to Pennsylvania in 1682, when the province was opened to settlement, was Toby Leech, who took up a large tract of land in Cheltenham Township. He left the Society of Friends in 1690 to follow George Keith, and ended his days in the Church of England. Horace Mather Lippincott assembles the known facts about him in an article entitled "Toby Leech" in the *Old York Road Historical Bulletin* (vol. 11, 1947, pp. 27-35).

* * *

As a supplement to Plomer's *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers in England, Scotland and Ireland,* which appeared from 1907 to 1930 in three volumes and covered the years 1641 to 1775, Russell S. Mortimer issued in *The Journal of Documentation* (vol. 3, 1947, pp. 107-125) an article of "Biographical Notices of Printers and Publishers of Friends Books up to 1750." These persons amount to some three hundred. Many others must have existed in the period when press regulations drove printers to clandestine publication.

A spirited defense of Whittier's liberalism in labor questions against charges that in this area and in later life he became reactionary is made by J. Welfred Holmes in an essay entitled in Whittier's own phrase, "Standpoint of a Republican Radical." It is published in a Festschrift, *If by Your Art; Testament to Percival Hunt* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948) pp. 96-109. He criticizes especially Parrington and Mordell for neglecting the evidence long available that Whittier's stand on labor was unchanged from his early radicalism and that in the very year of Marx's Manifesto he was defending communist principles and attacking fallacies in democratic theory and practice.

* * *

A different ancestry for Quakerism is proposed by George Arthur Johnson in *Church History* (vol. 17, 1948, pp. 299-315) in an article entitled "From Seeker to Finder: a Study in Seventeenth Century English Spiritualism before the Quakers." He deals with familiar forerunners: William Dell, John Saltmarsh, Thomas Collier, and William Erbury; but he regards them as representing a kind of missing link between the Seekers and the Quakers. He coins for them the name Finders and also the term spiritualists (in distinction from mystics). He defines their likenesses and differences in comparison with Fox and the early Quakers. He regards Roger Williams and even Oliver Cromwell as examples of their position. Even if Johnson's thesis is accepted, his terminology may not contribute to clarification.

* * *

In "Gulielma Maria Penn's Manor of Springfield" Horace Mather Lippincott recalls many interesting facts about Springfield Township, Pennsylvania, including the fact that it was one of the six manors retained by William Penn when he planned the settlement of the province and that he bestowed it upon his wife Guli *(Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania,* vol. 5, 1947, pp.247-259).

* * *

An account of " 'That Queer Sect'—The Quakers," by Seal Thompson, in *Religion in Life* (vol. 17, 1948, pp. 228-237) is a light and winsome description of Quakerism past and present.

* * *

In the *Yale Review* (vol. 34, 1944, pp. 292-304) J. G. Randall wrote on "Lincoln and John Bright" in the temper of sentimental British-American sympathy characteristic of some persons during World War II. He expatiates on the fundamental identity of ideals and on Bright's contribution to British partisanship for the North. It was a friendship of kindred minds. Few friendships so indirect have been so real. In more extended form and with full annotation this study was printed as a chapter in Randall's *Lincoln the Liberal Statesman* (Dodd, Mead and Co., 1947), pp. 135-50.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Lyman W. Riley
Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College

The American Friend

Rufus Jones interprets "The Boyhood of George Fox" for younger Friends.—Feb. 19, 1948, pp. 53-54.

In "Friends and the Rulers of the People" Frederick B. Tolles recalls the "prophetic" quality possessed by many early Friends in their relations with government officials.—Apr. 29, 1948, pp. 134-135; May 13, 1948, p. 153. (Also in the *Friends Intelligencer*, July 10, 1948, pp. 391-393.)

"Quakers à la New Zealand" by Edward Dowsett outlines briefly the beginnings and the present status of Quakerism in that country.—May 27, 1948, pp. 172-173.

William Edgerton, in "Quakers as Seen by Russians", quotes from two Russian encyclopedia articles on the history and character of Quakerism and also translates a footnote on Quakers to be found in Karl Marx's *Capital*.—June 24, 1948, pp. 207-208. (Also in *The Friend*, [Philadelphia] June 17, 1948, pp. 405-407).

Ruby M. Dowsett writes of "A Quaker Pioneer in New Zealand", Ann Fletcher Jackson, who migrated from England in 1848 and spent the next fifty years making a home for her family in the "bush" and helping establish Quaker meetings throughout New Zealand.—Sept. 2, 1948, pp. 286-287.

In "Whittier Lives" J. Edgar Williams pays tribute to the man and the poet.—Nov. 11, 1948, p. 367.

"Two Itinerant Quaker Women" by Elbert Russell is a brief account of the journeys of Mary Peisley and Catherine Payton Phillips, who came to the American colonies from England in 1753 and spent three years visiting meetings from South Carolina to Maine.—Jan. 6, 1949, pp. 5-6.

The Canadian Friend

"The Historic Peace Testimony of Friends" is the Sunderland P. Gardiner Lecture given by Harold Chance at Canada Yearly Meeting, 1948.—August, 1948, pp. 6-10; September, 1948, pp. 4-9.

The Friend (London)

"Where Conscription Was Defeated" by Leyton Richards tells of the results of the Australian Conscription Act of 1911.—Dec. 12, 1947, pp. 1029-1031.

Robert Ion writes a brief article on "The Significance of Isaac Penington."—Jan. 9, 1948, pp. 21-22.

"George Newman (1870-1948): A Quaker Profile" is a tribute by *The Friend* to the medical reformer and editor of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.—June 4, 1948, pp. 457-460.

The Friend gives a sketch of the life and influence of a great American Quaker in "Rufus M. Jones, 1863-1948, The Story of an Integrated Life."—June 25, 1948, pp. 517-522.

Ernest B. Ludlam writes of "Scottish Quakerism, Past and Present," outlining its beginnings and giving an encouraging picture of its present status.—July 16, 1948, pp. 584-586.

Norman Macfadyen takes notice of the fiftieth anniversary of the publishing of *Tomorrow* by Ebenezer Howard and describes its result, The First Garden City, Limited, in an article called "A Dream Realised." —Oct. 8, 1948, pp. 849-850.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"The Autobiography of an Early Quaker" by Walter L. Pyle is an appreciative interpretation of the life of Thomas Ellwood as it is portrayed in his autobiography.—May 20, 1948, pp. 377-379.

One hundred years of "The Friends Free Library" is described in an interesting and informative way by Violet Gordon Gray.—July 1, 1948, pp. 6-9.

D. Elton Trueblood lists the fifty-six principal works of Rufus M. Jones and calls them "The Real Monument of Rufus Jones".—July 15, 1948, pp. 22-23.

Gilbert Bowles reaffirms the Quaker peace stand in an "Historical Sketch of Friends' Peace Principles in Action", an article first published in 1917.—July 29, 1948, pp. 39-41; August 12, 1948, pp. 55-57.

In "Robert Barclay, Quaker Thinker" D. Elton Trueblood summarizes his Barclay Tercentenary address at London Yearly Meeting, 1948. —Oct. 21, 1948, pp. 137-138. (Also in *The Friend* [London], Aug. 20, 1948, pp. 701-703.)

The Friends Intelligencer

"Forever Nell" (Letter from the Past No. 90) speculates on the possible influence of Fox and other Quakers on Nell Gwynn, actress and mistress of Charles II.—Feb. 28, 1948, pp. 121-122.

Rufus M. Jones in a short article points out the "Evidences of the Influence of Quietism on John Woolman", quoting characteristic Quietist phrases from the *Journal*.—Mar. 6, 1948, pp. 131-132.

In "A Double Date for Elias" (Letter from the Past No. 91) "Now and Then" mentions the confusion that often arises from the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1752, a fact that makes virtually impossible the exact determination of Elias Hicks's birth date.—Mar. 13, 1948, pp. 149-150.

"Walt Whitman's Account of Hicks" consists of extracts from the poet's sketch of Elias Hicks, and includes Whitman's personal recollection of him.—Mar. 20, 1948, pp. 159-161.

"Elias Hicks and the Bible" by Bliss Forbush seeks to clarify the role the Bible played in Hicks's ministry.—Mar. 27, 1948, pp. 177-178.

In "A Date to Commemorate" Rufus M. Jones recommends that the year 1652 be celebrated as the "birth of Quakerism", for it was during these months that "Fox tapped the subterranean stream and a spiritual geyser burst forth."—Apr. 17, 1948, pp. 219-220. (Also in *The Friends' Quarterly*, April, 1948, pp. 118-122).

"John Woolman and the Brute Creation" by Dagobert de Levie treats of Woolman's interest in preventing cruelty to animals at a time earlier than the beginnings of the humane movement.—Apr. 24, 1948, pp. 235-236.

"Denmark, for Example" (Letter from the Past No. 92) speaks briefly of Quakers and Quakerism in Denmark and the visit of some English Friends to that country.—May 29, 1948, pp. 312-313.

Some Friends have had close contacts with Russia and several of the many Russian religious sects have had characteristics similar to Quakerism. William Hubben, in "Quakerism in Russia" mentions several interesting episodes arising from this relationship.—June 19, 1948, pp. 352-353.

"George Fox and the Psychiatrist" by Walter O. Jahrreiss is a penetrating, sympathetic view of Fox's life and personality by a professor of psychiatry.—July 10, 1948, pp. 393-395.

"Jerusalem Journey" (Letter from the Past No. 93) tells of the visit to Jerusalem of George Robinson in 1657.—July 17, 1948, p. 410.

"Light Hath Broken" is part of an address on Elias Hicks given by Bliss Forbush during Friends General Conference, 1948.—July 24, 1948, pp. 419-420.

"Anent Quakers at Edinburgh" (Letter from the Past No. 94) gives excerpts from contemporary accounts of the first Friends in Scotland.—July 31, 1948, pp. 444-445.

Otto E. Neuburger, in "Quaker Documents in the Lincoln Collection", quotes from eleven papers submitted to President Lincoln by various Quaker groups during the Civil War.—Aug. 14, 1948, pp. 467-470.

"A Minor Centenary of 1948" (Letter from the Past No. 94) tells of the publication in 1848 of Wilson Armistead's *A Tribute to the Negro*, an account of the achievements of individual Negroes.—Sept. 18, 1948, p. 537.

Louise Lamprey surveys several novels of the late 19th century that portray Quakers sympathetically in her article "As Others See It".—Sept. 25, 1948, pp. 547-548.

Frederick B. Tolles introduces a satirical poem by Samuel Lover (1797-1868) called "The Quaker's Meeting".—Sept. 25, 1948, pp. 550-551.

Ernest R. Bromley says there is no categorical answer one way or another to the question "Did Early Friends Pay War Taxes?" but finds that tax refusal was common enough to be a "potent witness . . . against war."—Oct. 16, 1948, pp. 591-593.

"Now and Then" remarks on the radical change in the attitude toward women's rights during the last 100 years, and registers a protest against the tendency on the part of historians of Puritanism to condemn early Quakers and praise contemporary ones; Letter from the Past No. 95.—Oct. 30, 1948, pp. 625-626.

"Meeting for Suffrage" by Walter Ludwig describes the part Quakers played in the episode which led to the trial of Peter Zenger of New York on the issue of "freedom of the press".—Nov. 6, 1948, pp. 638-639.

"Elia and the Quaker Poet" by Howard W. Starkweather Jr. is a note on the friendship of Charles Lamb and Bernard Barton,—Nov. 13, 1948, p. 654.

Eleanor Price Mather gives a brief characterization of the Quaker theologian in "Robert Barclay: A Quaker Courteous".—Dec. 4, 1948, pp. 692-694.

"Quaker Gadflies" is part of a chapter from Frederick B. Tolles's *Meeting House and Counting House;* treating of eighteenth century Friends like Benezet and Woolman, it concludes that their statements "bore witness to the persistent power of the radical social ethics implicit in the Quaker faith."—Dec. 11, 1948, pp. 707-708.

The Friends' Quarterly

"Dr. John Coakley Lettsom" by E. Cuthbert Dukes is an interesting profile of an English Quaker physician and philanthropist who numbered among his friends and patients Franklin, Johnson, and Boswell.—April, 1948, pp. 99-105.

The traditional Quaker testimonies for peace and religious freedom have been characteristic of the Society of Friends in Norway from the time of its beginning about 1814. Henry J. Cadbury cites some instances of this in an article entitled "Quakerism Illustrated by Norwegian Quakerism."—July, 1948, pp. 155-158.

Helen Marjorie Williams writes of "Elizabeth Fry in Scotland", quoting from a number of diaries and letters that vividly describe the four trips she made to Edinburgh and other cities to inspect prisons and visit Friends.—July, 1948, pp. 181-188.

"The Vocation of Barclay" was, according to D. Elton Trueblood, to call men beyond Protestantism, Catholicism, or sectarianism to genuine Christianity, to the "true, Catholic, Christian love of God." This article is a chapter from a forthcoming book on Barclay's thought. —October, 1948, pp. 195-204.

DAVID HUDDLESTON (1801-1890)

(See article on pages 75-91)